The MESSAGE AND DECISIONS of OXFORD on CHURCH, COMMUNITY and STATE

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A MESSAGE FROM THE OXFORD CONFERENCE TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

The delegates to the World Conference on Church, Community, and State, assembled at Oxford from July 12 to 26, 1937, send at the close of their deliberations the following message to the Churches of Christ throughout the world:—

In the name of Christ, greetings.

We meet at a time when mankind is oppressed with perplexity and fear. Men are burdened with evils almost insupportable and with problems apparently insoluble. Even in countries which are at peace unemployment and malnutrition sap men's strength of body, mind, and spirit. In other countries war does its "devil's work," and threatens to overwhelm us all in its limitless catastrophe.

Yet we do not take up our task as bewildered citizens of our several nations, asking if anywhere there is a clue to our problems; we take it up as Christians, to whom is committed "the word of reconciliation," that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself."

The first duty of the Church, and its greatest service to the world, is that it be in very deed the Church—confessing the true faith, committed to the fulfilment of the will of Christ, its only Lord, and united in Him in a fellowship of love and service.

We do not call the world to be like ourselves, for we are already too like the world. Only as we ourselves repent, both as individuals and as corporate bodies, can the Church call men to repentance. The call to ourselves and to the world is to Christ.

Despite our unfaithfulness God has done great things through His Church. One of the greatest is this—that, notwithstanding the tragedy of our divisions and our inability in many important matters to speak with a united voice, there exists an actual world-fellowship. Our unity in Christ is not a theme for aspiration; it is an experienced fact. We can speak of it with boldness because our Conference is an illustration of it. We are drawn from many nations and from many different communions, from Churches with centuries of history behind them and from the younger Churches whose story covers but a few decades; but we are one in Christ.

The unity of this fellowship is not built up from its constituent parts, like a federation of different States. It consists in the Sovereignty and redeeming acts of its one Lord. The source of unity is not the consenting movement of men's wills; it is Jesus Christ whose one life flows through the Body and subdues the many wills to His.

The Christian sees distinctions of race as part of God's purpose to enrich mankind with a diversity of gifts. Against racial pride or race-antagonism the Church must set its face implacably as rebellion against

God. Especially, in its own life and worship there can be no place for barriers because of race or colour. Similarly the Christian accepts national communities as part of God's purpose to enrich and diversify human life. Every man is called of God to serve his fellows in the community to which he belongs. But national egotism tending to the suppression of other nationalities or of minorities is, no less than individual egotism, a sin against the Creator of all peoples and races. The deification of nation, race, or class, or of political or cultural ideas, is idolatry, and can only lead to increasing division and disaster.

On every side we see men seeking for a life of fellowship in which they experience their dependence on one another. But because community is sought on a wrong basis, the intensity of the search for it issues in conflict and disintegration. In such a world the Church is called to be in its own life that fellowship which binds men together in their common dependence on God and overleaps all barriers of social status, race, or nationality.

In consonance with its nature as true community, the Church will call the nations to order their lives as members of the one family of God. The universal Church, surveying the nations of the world, in every one of which it is now planted and rooted, must pronounce a condemnation of war unqualified and unrestricted. War can occur only as a fruit and manifestation of sin. This truth is unaffected by any question of what may be the duty of a nation which has to choose between entry upon war and a course which it believes to be a betrayal of right, or what may be the duty of a Christian citizen whose country is involved in war. The condemnation of war stands, and also the obligation to seek the way of freeing mankind from its physical, moral, and spiritual ravages. If war breaks out, then pre-eminently the Church must manifestly be the Church, still united as the one Body of Christ, though the nations wherein it is planted fight each other, consciously offering the same prayers that God's Name may be hallowed, His Kingdom come, and His will be done in both, or all, the warring nations. This fellowship of prayer must at all costs remain unbroken. The Church must also hold together in one spiritual fellowship those of its members who take different views concerning their duty as Christian citizens in time of war.

To condemn war is not enough. Many situations conceal the fact of conflict under the guise of outward peace. Christians must do all in their power to promote among the nations justice and peaceful co-operation, and the means of peaceful adjustment to altering conditions. Especially should Christians in more fortunate countries press the demand for justice on behalf of the less fortunate. The insistence upon justice must express itself in a demand for such mitigation of the sovereignty of national states as is involved in the abandonment by each of the claim to be judge in its own cause.

We recognize the State as being in its own sphere the highest authority. It has the God-given aim in that sphere to uphold law and order and to

minister to the life of its people. But as all authority is from God, the State stands under His judgment. God is Himself the source of justice, of which the State is not lord but servant. The Christian can acknowledge no ultimate authority but God; his loyalty to the State is part of his loyalty to God, and must never usurp the place of that primary and only absolute loyalty.

The Church has duties laid upon it by God, which at all costs it must perform, among which the chief is to proclaim the Word of God and to make disciples, and to order its own life in the power of the Spirit dwelling in it. Because this is its duty it must do it, whether or not the State consents; and the State on its side should recognize the duty and assure full liberty for its performance. The Church can claim such liberty for itself only as it is also concerned for the rights and liberties of others.

In the economic sphere the first duty of the Church is to insist that economic activities, like every other department of human life, stand under the judgment of Christ. The existence of economic classes presents a barrier to human fellowship which cannot be tolerated by the Christian conscience. Indefensible inequalities of opportunity in regard to education, leisure, and health continue to prevail. The ordering of economic life has tended to enhance acquisitiveness and to set up a false standard of economic and social success. The only forms of employment open to many men and women, or the fact that none is open, prevent them from finding a sense of Christian vocation in their daily life.

We are witnessing new movements which have arisen in reaction to these evils but which combine with their struggle for social justice the repudiation of all religious faith. Aware of the reality of sin, the Church knows that no change in the outward ordering of life can of itself eradicate social evil. The Church therefore cannot surrender to the Utopian expectations of these movements, and their Godlessness it must unequivocally reject; but in doing so it must recognize that Christians in their blindness to the challenging evils of the economic order have been partly responsible for the anti-religious character of these movements.

Christians have a double duty—both to bear witness to their faith within the existing economic order and also to test all economic institutions in the light of their understanding of God's will. The forces of evil against which Christians have to contend are found not only in the hearts of men as individuals, but have entered into and infected the structure of society, and there also must be combated. The responsibility of the Church is to insist on the true relationship of spiritual and economic goods. Man cannot live without bread, and man cannot live by bread alone. Our human wealth consists in fellowship with God and in Him with our brethren. To this fellowship the whole economic order must be made subservient.

The questions which have mainly engaged the attention of the Conference are questions that can be effectively dealt with, in practice, only by

the laity. Those who are responsible for the daily conduct of industry, administration, and public life must discover for themselves what is the right decision in an endless variety of concrete situations. If they are to receive the help they need in making responsible Christian decisions new types of ministry will have to be developed by the Church.

The fulfilment of the tasks to which the Church is called to-day lies largely in the hands of youth. Many loud voices are calling on young people to give themselves to political and social ideals, and it is often hard for them to hear the voice of Jesus Christ who calls them to be servants of the eternal Kingdom. Yet many of the younger generation, often in spite of ridicule and sometimes of persecution, are turning to Him, and individually as well as in Christian youth movements devote themselves to the renewal of the life of the Churches and to making known the Good News of Christ by word and action. We rejoice in their brave witness.

In the education of youth the Church has a twofold task. First, it must be eager to secure for every citizen the fullest possible opportunity for the development of the gifts that God has bestowed on him. In particular, the Church must condemn inequality of educational opportunity as a main obstacle to fullness of fellowship in the life of the community.

While the Church is thus concerned with all education it has, also, a special responsibility to realize its own understanding of the meaning and end of education in the relation of life to God. In education, as elsewhere, if God is not recognized, He is ignored. The Church must claim the liberty to give a Christian education to its own children. It is in the field of education that the conflict between Christian faith and non-Christian conceptions of the ends of life, between the Church and an all-embracing community life which claims to be the source and goal of every human activity, is in many parts of the world most acute. In this conflict all is at stake, and the Church must gird itself for the struggle.

As we look to the future it is our hope and prayer that the Spirit of God may cause new life to break forth spontaneously in a multitude of different centres, and that there may come into being a large number of "cells" of Christian men and women associated in small groups for the discovery of fresh ways in which they may serve God and their fellow-men.

We have deeply felt the absence from our fellowship of the Churches that have not been represented at the Conference. Our hearts are filled with anguish as we remember the suffering of the Church in Russia. Our sympathy and gratitude go out to our Christian brethren in Germany; we are moved to a more living trust by their steadfast witness to Christ and we pray that we may be given grace to bear the same clear witness to the Lord.

We have much to encourage us since the Conference at Stockholm twelve years ago. The sense of the unity of the Church in all the world grows stronger every year. We trust that this cause will be yet more fully served by the World Council of Churches, proposals for which have been considered by the Conference and commended to the Churches.

We have tried during these days at Oxford to look without illusion at the chaos and disintegration of the world, the injustices of the social order and the menace and horror of war. The world is anxious and bewildered and full of pain and fear. We are troubled yet we do not despair. Our hope is anchored in the living God. In Christ, and in the union of man with God and of man with man, which He creates, life even in face of all these evils has a meaning. In His Name we set our hands, as the servants of God and in Him of one another, to the task of proclaiming God's message of redemption, of living as His children, and of combating injustice, cruelty, and hate. The Church can be of good cheer; it hears its Lord saying, "I have overcome the world."

I. CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

The report, after receiving the approval of the section, was submitted to the Conference, substantially in its present form. The Conference received the report, referred it back to the section for revision in the light of the discussion, and commended it to the serious and favourable consideration of the Churches. The report was revised by the section and approved by it in its present form.

I. THE WORLD TODAY

The Christian Church is called upon to fulfil its mission to-day amidst a distraught and disunited mankind. Divisions and conflicts there have always been. But the foundations of communal life in generally accepted systems of customs, social distinctions, moral and cultural values, religious beliefs have remained sufficiently firm to preserve the essential structure of the various communities in which men have lived their lives together. To-day, however, as probably only once or twice before in human history, the foundations themselves are shaken. Traditional pieties and loyalties and standards of conduct have lost their unquestioned authority; no new ones have taken their place. As a result the community life of mankind has been thrown into confusion and disintegration. Though more marked in some sections of mankind than in others these facts are in some measure universal. This social disunity is reflected in the life of the individual man or woman, whose personal destiny is largely bound up with his relation to the community. When society "goes to pieces" the individual tends also "to go to pieces," in suffering, frustration, and a baffled sense of the futility and meaninglessness of his existence.

In many countries vigorous attempts are being made to restore social unity by drastic control and regimentation and by making national or class unity the supreme good to take precedence of all else. These bear witness to the truth of what has just been said and to the primal need of human life as God has made it for community and fellowship.

In the midst of such a world, torn and disrupted, and feverishly seeking a way out of its troubles, the Church of Jesus Christ has to teach its message and fulfil its task. What is it to say? How is it to act? What are individual Christians to believe and to do?

II. THE CALL TO THE CHURCH

The Church is under obligation to proclaim the truth that the disintegration of society has one root cause. Human life is falling to pieces because it has tried to organize itself into unity on a secularistic and humanistic basis without any reference to the divine Will and power above and beyond itself. It has sought to be self-sufficient, a law unto itself. Nor is there any hope in the ascription of sacred quality to nation or State or class. A false sacred, a false God, merely adds demonic power to the un-

redeemed passions of men. Through bringing about temporary and local unity it prepares for mankind an even worse and wider conflict. The recall to God in penitence must stand first.

Yet how shall men know who and what God is, and what it is of which they must repent, and in what new direction they must walk and whence they may find strength to walk therein? The answer to these questions God Himself has given in the revelation of His will, and supremely in Jesus Christ. In God is the secret of true unity amongst men and in Christ is revealed the secret of God. The first task of the Church, now as always, is to make known the Gospel, and to assert the claim of Jesus Christ, as the incarnate Word of God, to the lordship of all human life.

The modern world, however, has never been wholly without the preaching of the Gospel. Dare we ascribe its present plight solely to its wilful rejection of the Word of life and of the things which belong to its peace? Nay, is not the modern situation God's call to a Church* which has been content to preach the redeeming Word without the costly redeeming deed? Has it taken the trouble to make plain to itself or to the world the meaning of its redeeming Word for the daily life of mankind? What reason has the Church given the world to believe that it has the secret of true community in Him whom it preaches and whom it professes to serve? The life of the Church is deeply infected with the very ills from which humanity suffers. The divisions and the conflicts of mankind have been reproduced and even justified within its own borders. Again and again Christian groups have persecuted and sought to destroy one another, and with equal guilt have persecuted men of other faiths; and this is still happening to-day. The Church's recall of the world to the feet of Christ must be preceded by the recall of itself. The Church is under call to confess its sin and to seek anew from God forgiveness and the cleansing of its life.

But there is peril in these general propositions, true as they may be. The call to Christians to repent and submit their lives anew to God in Christ has to be obeyed in the midst of the concrete realities of the common life, where decisions have to be taken and acts with all their irrevocable consequences done. Perplexities and problems at once arise. They press the more heavily the more earnestly the Christian believer seeks to bring everything in his life into the obedience of Christ.

The difficulties arise in the main because the Christian finds himself called upon at every point to act in relation to systems, or frameworks, of life which partake of both good and evil; they are of God and yet also of human sin. The orders of family, community, people, nation are part of the God-given basis and structure of human life, without which the individual would have no existence at all; yet man's sin, his pride, greed, fear, idolatry has infected them all. Hence the Christian who has seen the perfect will of God in Christ and would serve that will in the midst of his fellow-men

*In this document, where the Church as an institution is referred to, organized Christianity, and not the Una Sancta, is meant.

finds himself in perpetual tension and conflict. He accepts thankfully his community in order to live and to work in it and for it; yet if he would work in it and for it for Christ he must be in continuous protest against it.

The difficulty of deciding how far in partcular instances the Christian should go in co-operation with ways of life which are in greater or less degree contrary to God's will is often great; and the danger of self-deception is always present. No general principle of guidance can be laid down. That the ways of the community or nation may reach such a pitch of evil that there is no option for the Church but to repudiate them altogether, and even at times refuse co-operation with them, can hardly be questioned in view of contemporary events, but just where that point is must be left to the guidance of the Spirit. This must be said, however. The Church is under obligation never to lose sight of its one supreme calling to bear costing witness, in deed as well as in word, to the higher way of life in Christ. Where it must join in what it feels to be a partial approach to the perfect will of Christ it must keep its spirit sensitive and humble by continual acknowledgment before God of the sin of mankind which is wresting the gifts of God to evil ends, and in which it is itself implicated. This is the tragic and continuous tension between the pure ideals of the Kingdom and the unredeemed community of men in which it has to live and bear its witness. But so soon as it seeks peace by becoming unconscious of that tension then it is traitorous to its Master and Lord.

Three problems in the Church's relation to the community to-day urgently demand attention.*

1. The Church and the National Community (*Volk*)

The Church comes to men never as isolated individuals. Every man is born into a specific national community, and is united to it by strong ties. The Church regards this fact of nationality, in spite of its infection by human sinfulness, as essentially a gift of God to mankind.

The love of the Christian for his people should therefore be part of his gratitude to God for the riches which are his through the community into which he has been born. The primary call on the loyalty and service, both of the Church and the individual Christian believer, will be, as a rule, the community in which God has set him. Every Church should regard itself as a Church for the whole people. This means that it accepts its place in the community life and acknowledges its responsibility, along with all other Christian bodies, to reach all members of the community, in relation to every aspect of their life, with the pure message of the Gospel. It does not mean that it subordinates itself to the national life.

As with every divine gift, the gift of national community has been and is being abused by men and made to serve sin. Any form of national egotism, whereby the love of one's own people leads to the suppression of other nationalities or national minorities, or to the failure to respect and

*The fuller draft of the sections immediately following, as they appear in the long report, are given on pages 14-25.

appreciate the gifts of other people, is sin and rebellion against God, who is the Creator and Lord of all peoples. Even more, to see in one's own nation the source and standard of saving revelation, or in any way to give the nation divine status, is sin. This is to be utterly repudiated and irreconcilably opposed by the Christian conscience in the name of God, and for the sake of the nation it is called to serve. Further, the Church is called to be watchful that these evils, or the world-views by which they are supported, do not enter within its own life, destroying its fellowship and corrupting the pure Word of the Gospel of Jesus Christ which has been entrusted to it.*

2. The Church and Race

Even deeper are distinctions of race. The existence of black races, white races, yellow races is to be accepted gladly and reverently as full of possibilities under God's purpose for the enrichment of human life. And there is no room for any differentiation between the races as to their intrinsic value. All share alike in the concern of God, being created by Him to bring their unique and distinctive contributions to His service in the world.

Here again, however, the gift can be, and is, abused. The sin of man asserts itself in racial pride, racial hatreds and persecutions, and in the exploitation of other races. Against this in all its forms the Church is called by God to set its face implacably and to utter its word unequivocally, both within and without its own borders.

Moreover, it is a first responsibility of the Church to demonstrate within its own fellowship the reality of community as God intends it. It is commissioned to call all men into the Church, into a divine society that transcends all national and racial limitations and divisions. In the services of worship, in its more informal fellowship, in its organization, and in the hospitality of the Christian home, there can be no place for exclusion or segregation because of race or colour. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ." To allow the Church's lines of action to be determined by racial discrimination denies the Gospel whose proclamation is its task and commission.

3. The Church and the Common Life

There's an urgent call to the Church to-day to reestablish close relationships with the common life of the people in the midst of which it is called upon to work. The Word of God must not only be preached: at any cost it must be made actual. Indeed only as it is thus being made actual can it be said to be completely preached. To-day men are often more apt to criticize the Church than to criticize Christianity; this is due in no small part to the fact that the Church has lost touch with the everyday activities and problems which fill men's lives. To the outsider the Church

*In view of the immediate urgency of this problem a supplementary declaration is appended on page 13.

appears to be a society of people interested in a specialized activity which does not need and does not engage the interest of all. Religion is just one activity among many for those who are inclined that way. Men see no necessary relation between the moral struggles of society and the Gospel of Christ. The Church is not wholly to blame for this situation, since many spheres of the common life in which it once took the leading part have now been taken over by the community or by the State. But these changes only challenge the Church to seek new areas and new means for the redemption of the common life.

III. SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

There is a call from God to-day—

1. To every local congregation, to realize at any cost in its own self that unity, transcending all differences and barriers of class, social status, race, nation, which we believe the Holy Spirit can and will create in those who are ready to be led by Him.

2. To different Churches in any district, to come together for a local ecumenical witness in worship and work.

3. To all Christians, to a more passionate and costly concern for the outcast, the under-privileged, the persecuted, the despised in the community and beyond the community. The recrudescence of pitiless cruelty, hatreds, race discrimination (including anti-Semitism) in the modern world is one of the major signs of its social disintegration. To these must be brought not the weak rebuke of words, but the powerful rebuke of deeds. Thus the unity of the Church is advanced. The Church has been called into existence by God not for itself but for the world. Only by going out of itself in the work of Christ can it find unity in itself.

4. More specifically to the Church, to extend its concern to the particular areas of life where existing conditions continuously undo its work and thwart the will of God for His children, such as: misunderstanding between old and young, tension between men and women, health, housing, employment recreation in both their distinctive rural and urban forms. Thus the Church seeks to express God's concern for every man in his own neighborhood and vocation.

5. To the Church, to undertake new social experiments, especially in local communities, through which the general level of conscience may be raised.

6. To the Church, to play a healing and reconciling part in the conflicts, misunderstandings, or hatreds which arise between interests or classes within the local community or the nation.

7. To the Church, to encourage authoritative study of mooted problems in such areas as race and industry, and to draw together Christians of different races and groups for united study, fellowship, and action.

8. To Christian men and women in the same vocation or industry, to

meet together for prayerful discussion as to how in their particular sphere of the common life the problems which arise can be dealt with as God would require.

9. To members of the Christian Church to be ready to undertake responsibilities in local and national government. The Church should seek to guide and support these its representatives in their efforts to solve the problems by which they are faced in the light of Christian principles.

10. To all Christians, to seek by simplicity and discipline in personal living to go beyond the accepted standards of the community in the love revealed in Christ.

Finally, there is laid upon the Christian Church in all lands the obligation to create and to foster solidarity and co-operation with one another which are stronger than all the divisions which now disrupt the family of mankind. The ecumenical movement which has found expression in the Conference at Oxford should become an integral part in the life of every Church, every local congregation, every individual Christian. To help to create it, to support it, to develop it is a solemn responsibility to God who so loved the *world* that He gave His only-begotten Son for its sin. Thus shall be plainly manifested to mankind in its chaos and division something of that peace and order of brotherly love which come only from God and from Jesus Christ, His Son our Lord.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT (*See note on p. 10*)

1. "God wills all men to be saved." Therefore He has in Christ come to us, and therefore He has established His Church amongst us to proclaim the message of salvation through Christ for all nations. The Church has the only all-decisive source for its message about God and His will in the revelation of God in Christ.

2. As Christians we consider our membership in a distinct Community (*Volk*) as a divine gift. The love of a Christian for his people is also his gratitude towards God for the gift thereby given to him.

3. In order to fulfil its task the Church takes its place in the Community (*Volk*) wherein human life is lived. This does not mean the subordination of the Church to the national life, but the effective fulfilment of its task to reach all members of the Community with the Gospel pure and undefiled.

4. Every kind of national egotism, where the love of one's own nation leads to the suppression of other nationalities (minorities), is sin and rebellion against God, the Lord of all nations.

5. The deification of one's own people is sin against God. "Thou shalt have none other God but me." To see in one's own people (in one's own blood) the saving revelation of God is anti-Christian. "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given amongst men whereby we must be saved."

Because of its importance and interest the following part of the long report of Section I on Church and Community is included. This longer draft was not voted on in full detail by the Conference although it was approved by the Section.

a. Community and "the Orders"

The Church discovers each person, never as an isolated individual, but always enmeshed in a web of organic corporate relationships which surround his life in concentric circles of ever widening radius—his family, his neighborhood, his race, his people, his nation, all humanity. To these powerful organic structures or relationships which are continuing features of human life in every age and among all peoples the Germans give the name *die Ordungen,* "the Orders"; their nature and their true significance in the Christian understanding of life is one of the most disputed issues in contemporary Christian thought.

Each relationship conditions and molds both the life and the thought of every person in greater or less measure, usually in more subtle and pervasive ways than he realizes. Each makes invaluable contributions to his existence, and in return lays upon him obligations to loyalty and service. For Christian faith, each in its true expression is, in some sense, a part of the divine order, part of God's gracious provision for the enrichment of man's life. But there is conflict between their respective claims. Much more important for Christian faith, each is forever tending to make demands upon the Christian in conflict with his duty to God. Like every individual, each of the great corporate societies or "orders" of human life is always infected with the sins of pride, fear, idolatry, greed, and insularity. They are always partly God-inspired, partly sin-infected and therefore "demonic" in their claims. In consequence, the life of each Christian is *always* in tension between the illegitimate demands (usually exaggerations or pervasions of legitimate demands) of the various "orders" upon him and the demand which alone rightly claims his unqualified devotion—that of the will of God. Hence spring many of the most perplexing problems of the Christian's life in the world.

The most intimate and meaningful of these societies or "orders," and much the most rightful in its demands, is that of *family,* for to it each person owes not only his very existence but all the gifts of early nurture and protection. Its ties are biological, not merely cultural or historical or accidental or sentimental. Indeed so universal is the recognition of the profound claims of family that each of the wider societies or "orders" seeks to appropriate for its own claims the same advantage by presenting itself to men as the "larger family." Thus members of lodges, fraternities, clans and nations, as well as churches, call each other "brother" and "sister" in their efforts to lay upon the individual the obligations of family loyalty. Yet the demands of the family itself may be, and often are, in unresolvable conflict with duty to God and therefore "demonic." Hence Jesus' stringent injunction, "Unless ye hate father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, ye cannot be my disciples." (Luke 14:26)

The relationship or "order" next after family in the enrichment of the individual and his consequent loyalty to it may be the *neighborhood* in which he dwells, or a particular *society* or *organization* or *communion* of which he is a member. (For, as a human institution, the Church is one society or "order" among others, making its contribution and claiming its loyalty as they do, and like them forever in danger of infection by sin, thus becoming "demonic.") Or, the society or "order" of next strongest claim may be the individual's *people* or *nation,* or even *humanity.* In any event, these latter and wider corporate realities each make their contribution to him and lay their claim upon him—the people or folk to whom his life is bound by profound ties of common heritage, custom, experience and, it may be, blood; the nation-state of his residence; the race of his birth; and the great body of mankind which the Christian by faith recognizes as the company of the sons and daughters of God—his Father's family upon earth.

It is in the relative importance of these societies or "orders," in the legitimate or "demonic" character of their respective claims, and especially in the true relation between his duty to them and his sovereign duty to God that many of the Christian's most poignant perplexities lie. It is here that some of the most serious misunderstandings among Christians today arise.

The difficulty is intensified because there is no single set of terms by which the different relationships or "orders" are uniformly understood in different parts of the world. But that is not merely a defect of language. The difficulty in language is a revelation of the problem, not its cause. It is due to the deeper fact that the relationship which each of these terms designates and which is set forth in its dictionary definition has markedly different meanings and associations in different parts of the world. And, since the practical reality is not the abstract relationship, but the *meaning* of the relationship—the actual grip which it has upon whole peoples—we have to do not merely with confusion of terms but with different realities. Therefore it must be recognized first that none of the most familiar terms —community, nation, people, *Volk,* race—various forms of which are frequently employed interchangeably, are precise equivalents. Second and more important, it must be recognized that *each* of these terms is differently understood by different sets of people and *means* different things to them. It is these various meanings which must be understood if discussion is to be fruitful.

For example, each of these wider corporate realities—neighborhood, organization, church, people, nation, race, humanity—may be designated as a *community.* But concerning their relative significance as *communities* there is wide difference of view. Thus a European writer defines a *community* by contrast with an *association.* An association may be defined by the purpose for which it is constituted. It is formed for particular ends such as trade, recreation, study, mutual security. As a rule its membership is voluntary; an individual may disassociate himself from one association and join himself to another. But a *community* is a corporate reality of a very different kind. It is the whole of a people living continuously together in one

area when, as such, they share a common social life and form. It is something to which one is born, not something which one chooses to join. Its ties are those of historic origin, not those of pragmatic usefulness. It is a natural growth rather than an artificial creation. Its purposes are too many and too indefinite to be enumerated and all of them together do not fully explain its existence or its character. Its cohesion is largely subconscious and semi-instinctive and it is more lasting than that of an association. Its fellow feeling and the purposes it subserves are not the cause of its members' living together but rather flow out of that.

Yet there is not a single element in that definition of "community" which is not refuted by corporate realities in various parts of the world which are undoubtedly communities. In the United States, the most frequent meaning of "community" is not "the whole of a people," but "a segment of the people living in geographical proximity," a neighborhood. The Jewish people do not "live continuously together in one area" but are scattered over the face of the earth, yet feel themselves one community; and the same might be said of the British Empire. The Swiss national community shares several languages and cultures. The American people is a community into which many of its members were not born but which they chose to join; its ties are less those of historic origin than of pragmatic usefulness. Many modern nations with a deep sense of community are less "natural growths" than "artificial creations." Of some of them it must be said that "its fellow feeling and the purposes it subserves *are* the cause of its members' living together," and not the reverse. For increasing numbers of Christians, the *Christian world community* which possesses no geographical locus, no tangible structure, no unity of language or uniformity of custom, is a reality of far greater meaning and authority than the innumerable local, racial, and national communities which have traditionally claimed human devotion.

In brief, the one essential condition of a community is that its members should feel themselves to be a social whole, that is, that they should feel themselves to be a community. For community, the reality is constituted by profound awareness of common interest or affection or loyalty or aspiration and not by factors of racial kinship, historic association, geographical propinquity or shared experience. These factors may be precedent; they may be derivative; they may be nonexistent.

Much the same thing may be said of the inner realities which bind a people together into a *nation* and which quicken the consciousness of obligation and debtorship. In the United States, where unity proceeds from no identity of race or blood, no long historic continuity of life and custom, no great body of common folkways, but from a common ideal rather than a common history, it is the nation-state to which loyalty adheres. In central and eastern European countries, in recent years especially, there has been a mighty resurgence of loyalty to *Volk* (a term for which there is no precise English equivalent, the closest parallel being perhaps "people"), loyalty to the corporate reality to which one belongs by deep historic association and

racial kinship, by which the heritage of the past is continued and the common life sustained, and which, it is maintained, is the "order" established by God next in importance to *family* for the nurture and discipline of man. In Great Britain loyalty is given to "king and country"—a reality intermediate between the American nation-state and the continental *Volk*. And there are other variations among other peoples. Here, likewise, a nation is a nation because its members feel themselves to be so and, consciously or implicitly, are resolved to remain so.

Again, with regard to the hold which national ties take upon the loyalties of members, there is the widest diversity. At one end of the scale are peoples in whom the rebirth of the sense of nationality has lately come as a profound and shattering vital experience to which all else must be related, like a volcanic eruption in whose glow the whole landscape is lit up. At the other is the people of the United States, which is and feels itself a nation but has no single common blood, language or culture and for which a common soil is only a recent acquisition. Again, for a Frenchman himself, and for understanding him, it is obviously far more important that he is a Frenchman than that he is a Gascon or a European. With a Briton, it is less obvious whether it is more significant and matters more that he is British or that he is Scottish, Welsh or English. With a French Canadian it is far from clear whether he is primarily French, Canadian, British or American; and with a recent immigrant from Europe to the United States, whether it is his old or his new nation to which he most belongs.

b. The Church and National Community (*Volk*)

The problem of *community* is given a special setting and urgency at the present time by the crucially central place which the reality of *Volk* has come to have in the thinking of many peoples, especially the German-speaking peoples of the continent of Europe. It must be clearly grasped that the word *Volk* is, strictly speaking, quite untranslatable into English just because it designates both a sentiment and a body of convictions to which there is no exact or even approximate parallel elsewhere. (The Japanese philosophy and practice of emperor worship reveals analogies to political nationalism but not to the sentiment of *Volk*. The British sentiment toward the crown has points of kinship but is supported by no such mythical and metaphysical structure.) As Professor Ernest Barker writes:

Our word "community" is a multicolored word. It has many areas of operation. The German word *Volk* is a unitary word. There is one *Volk*, though it may have two different manifestations according as we are thinking of the *Volk* already included in the boundaries of the German state or of the broader *Volk* which transcends those boundaries. . . . None of us can use the word "community" with the simple intensity with which the German uses the word *Volk*. When we think of the realities of Church and community, we are thus thinking of something different from the relation of *Kirche* and *Volk*.

Because of its great importance for Europeans today, Christians everywhere should make special efforts to come into an understanding of the inner meaning of *Volk*. It is thus described by a competent authority:

Volk is not an institution, but a living personal community of a superindividual kind. The elements by which it is constituted, viz., identity of blood, occupancy of the same territory, possession of the same language, customs, history and culture, etc., are of different strength at different times. *Volk* is best understood on the analogy of the family. It stands for common descent in the spiritual and physical sense of the word. It has to be distinguished from society, class, mass, nation and state. It is not a sum of individuals, or a collective compound, but as it were a living being of community life. *Nation* means *Volk* or the population viewed in its political aspect. The German conceives the *state* as the instrument to form and keep the people a continuing and growing force. *Volk* is an organic thing; *state* an organization.

Although this recrudescence of passionate loyalty to *Volk* seems to many people today a new and strange phenomenon, it has its roots deep in history, indeed in Christian history. It has been a central issue in the relations of Church and community for fifteen centuries. It first presented itself as a problem for Christian thought and life when missionaries carried Christianity to the barbarian tribes of northern Europe in the fifth and following centuries. Though, through Judaism, Christianity itself had tribal and national affiliations, it had grown up under the Roman Empire and had shaped itself in a world imbued with imperial culture and presuppositions. But the empire was breaking up, and the barbarians already had their own tribal religions, linked with all phases of the common life of the tribe. To a large extent the missionaries adapted themselves to this pattern and Christianity was domesticated to tribal and national loyalties. Since that day the life of the Church has reflected the tension in Europe between imperial and national ideas, between the relatively rational, civilized and sophisticated ideals of *homo sapiens* and the more primitive, intimate, unreflective group loyalties of the natural man. The Reformation marked the triumph of nationalism. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, under the influence of rationalism and humanitarianism in the secular world and of the missionary movement and the ideal of the world-wide community of Christians in religion, the intense and exclusive ties of national loyalty were somewhat relaxed in favor of universalism in both politics and religion. Today they are again clamant.

Thus the true place of national community or *Volk* loyalty in the life of the Christian, and the true relation of the Christian Church to these natural and powerful societies, has been a mooted but unsettled issue throughout the greater part of Christian history. We here confront not merely the personal problem of conflict between claims of community and duty to God. There is the far deeper issue of the place which these "orders" or societies are believed to hold in God's wider purpose for all mankind. In this matter Christians are not fully agreed. But there is unanimity as to the following basic principles.

The Christian attitude toward national community or *Volk* must depend in the first instance on the place Christians assign to it in the divine economy. The starting point is the double recognition already noted—nation or *Volk* is always at once both God-given and sin-infected. The Christian is called upon to accept and rejoice in the fact that God has chosen to set men in various races, peoples and nations, with different manners and styles of life. That each nation seems to have its distinctive contribution and mission to the world is to be ascribed to God's purpose. The ties of common blood, soil, tradition, culture, and purpose which constitute the national community are by nature enormously strong. They are given of God who creates the individual life in and through the life of a specific community.

On the other hand, it must be said with the greatest emphasis that, as with every divine gift, the gift of nation has been and is being abused by men and made to serve sin. Any form of national egotism whereby the love of one's own people leads to the suppression of other nationalities or minorities, or to failure to respect and appreciate the gifts of other people, is sin and rebellion against God who is the Creator and Lord of all peoples. The history of every nation is defaced by national crimes; every nation has its distinctive excellencies. More fundamental still, even the best things in national life have in them an element of sinful self-assertion and self-glorification, of indifference and contempt for "the lesser breeds without the law," and of the will to lord it over them. Everywhere in the life of nations and peoples these two elements have been and are at work; it is not possible to disentangle them and to say with confidence, "This is the work of God" and, "This is the work of the devil." But to see in one's own nation the source and standard of revelation, or in any other way to give the nation divine status, is utterly sinful.

Thus the Christian attitude toward nation or *Volk* will be twofold. The primary call on the loyalty and service of both the Church and the individual believer is as a rule to the community in which God has set them. The love of the Christian for his people should be part of his gratitude to God for the riches which are his through the community into which he has been born. Each generation has inherited from the past a distinctive ethos and culture by which its own mind and character have been shaped. Of this it is a trustee rather than an owner. It is its duty to preserve that inheritance and to transmit it unimpaired and if possible enhanced to posterity. Every church should regard itself as a church for the whole people, not in the sense that it would subordinate itself to the national life but in the sense that it accepts its place in the community and acknowledges its responsibility, along with all other Christian bodies, to reach all members of the community with the Christian message.

But the obligation both of Christian and church is rather to loyalty than to obedience or conformity—and loyalty itself sometimes requires vigorous opposition to the general will. The prophets of Israel constantly withstood, rebuked and prophesied against their own people and their constituted authorities; that is why they were stoned. In doing so they transgressed no

patriotic duty. Rather, they themselves were the true patriots because they spoke and acted not in "abject submission" to the "occasional will" of their nation but out of a deep and true insight into the things that belonged to its peace. So, likewise, Jesus spoke out against the evils in national and *Volk* life in sharp and unsparing denunciation. While the Christian Church in any country consists predominantly of the members of the people of that country, it has a unique character in that it is based on conscious allegiance to God in Christ and its center is beyond this world. It has its own distinctive task of witness and worship which for its members constitutes an imperative transcending all others. To submit to interference in its performance would be apostasy; it would be to obey man rather than God. In addition, it can view folkways and national claims from a perspective unavailable to others, in the light of the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ, and it must maintain thereby a prophetic and critical outlook upon the national life as a whole. More particularly, where nation or *Volk* is deified or made supreme over all other peoples and all other claims, this pretension must be utterly repudiated and irreconcilably opposed both by the individual Christian conscience and by the Christian Church in the name of God. Further, the Church is called to be watchful that such sinful pretensions, or the world views by which they are supported, do not enter within its own life, destroying its supernational fellowship and corrupting the pure word of the Gospel which it is called upon to preach.

Thus far all Christians may agree. To this extent they may, and should, present a united and powerful witness concerning both the positive validity and the "demonic" pretensions of the claims of nation or *Volk*. But beyond this large and important area of agreement there are serious differences of conviction. As we have noted, they have their roots far back in history. And they cannot be said to arise wholly from theological divergences as to the place of nation or *Volk* in the divine economy. It is only too apparent that, through the whole of Christian history and not least today, they have been strongly colored by political exigencies and loyalties; Christians have tended to favor that view of the divine significance of nation and *Volk* which most readily supported the political interests of their own people.

To some, it appears that national community or *Volk,* like the family to which it is akin and to which it stands next in the divine economy, is an order especially created by God for the preservation of the heritage of the past, the nurture and training of the successive generations and the maintenance and improvement of the common life of men. Any weakening of its demands upon individual loyalty and obedience is a blow not only to social stability but to the very structure of morality and religion. Duty to *Volk* is in the well-nigh absolute. To others, it seems that the semi-instinctive and subrational emotions of *Volk* loyalty come down from primitive and precivilized levels; they appeal to all that is parochial, bigoted, and fearful in man and their continuance is a device of conservative forces to preserve the status quo and block progress. A radical emancipation from their hold upon individual sentiment and obedience is essential for growth into the wider and more inclusive loyalty to the body of humanity. Excessive deference

to *Volk* is in the last analysis apostasy to God who, as Father of all mankind, intends every person to come into the reality of the universal brotherhood of his children. The central issue is thus clear. It is the relation, in the divine plan, of loyalty to the narrower but more intimate and intense bonds of community or *Volk,* to the wider but more general loyalty to the whole family of God's children. Is that more limited loyalty God's special provision for human nurture and discipline next to family in legitimate obligation, or is it a persistence of tribal feeling from which men should be freed in order to realize the divine commonwealth? Is that wider loyalty an abstract humanitarianism masquerading under Christian aegis, or is it the ultimate fellowship toward which God ever seeks to lead his unwilling children? This is an issue urgently requiring concerted Christian study.

c. The Church and Race

A special problem of critical urgency today is that of the relations between peoples of different races. Here all of the deep human loyalties and prejudices which are present in both lofty and demonic form in all phases of the common life—pride in ancestry and heritage, dislike of alien peoples and unfamiliar ways, tension between more advanced and less advanced cultures, fear of contamination and desire for opportunity, economic greed and economic need—come to most extreme and dangerous expression. And there are in addition deep-seated antipathies and apprehensions peculiar to race relationships. The roots of the problem are deep and difficult of treatment. No simple or easy solution is possible. It is all the more imperative that Christians have a clear and firm grasp of the Christian truth concerning race, the nature of the present situation and the Christian's responsibility for action.

For Christians, the starting point in this as in every problem of the relations of men is the affirmation that all men are by birthright children of God created in his image, and therefore brothers and sisters to one another. They are, moreover, "brothers for whom Christ died," and are intended by God to be brought within the fellowship of his one true Church.

Each of the races of mankind has been blessed by God with distinctive and unique gifts. Each has made, and seems destined to continue to make, distinctive and unique contributions to the enrichment of mankind. All share alike in the love, the concern and the compassion of God. Therefore, for a Christian there can be no such thing as despising another race or a member of another race. Moreover, when God chose to reveal himself in human form, the Word became flesh in One of a race then as now widely despised. Christ himself selected as the supreme illustration of the charity he enjoined upon his followers a member of a hated and outcast people—outcast because they were of mixed blood (the good Samaritan). For Christians, alien or outcast peoples claim special regard.

Each race is rightly grateful for its own heritage and possibilities. Apparently, each desires to preserve its own identity. What it chiefly desires of other races is not opportunity for intermarriage, but recognition of its

dignity within the family of mankind and opportunities for education, for significant vocation, and for social intercourse within the common life. As to the desirability or undesirability of widespread admixture of races, the authorities are sharply divided. This is a matter which Christians and scientists should give determined study. It must be noted, however, that such mixture of less advanced and more advanced peoples as has occurred has been mainly due to the initiative and often to the violence or fraud of the latter. Further, there is today, apart from certain primitive peoples, no such thing as a "pure race." The assumption by any race or nation of supreme blood or destiny must be emphatically denied by Christians as without foundation in fact and wholly alien to the heart of the Gospel.

The problem of the relations of the races is found today chiefly in two situations: within a nation where large numbers of two or more races dwell together and between nations of different races. In either situation, the problem may arise between races of relatively equal culture or between markedly more and less advanced peoples. It is to be noted that the problem *within* nations is most acute where, as in North America, the minority were first introduced into a country by violence and at the instance and solely for the benefit of the people which now denies them social equality; or, as in many parts of Africa, Asia and Australia, where the dominant people themselves are an alien minority; or, as in the case of the Jewish nation, of a people forcibly exiled from their homeland who were originally often welcomed for what they could contribute to the dominant nation's welfare. In the first two instances especially the predominant motive was economic exploitation and aggrandizement. In brief, the most acute situations today are largely due to movements of population initiated by white and so-called "Christian" nations for their own advantage. Individual Christians and their churches bear a heavy guilt.

The gravity of the problem cannot be exaggerated. Both within certain nations and on the wider scale of the world-wide relations of the races, catastrophe is hardly to be avoided without clear-sighted and courageous action. It seems doubtful if it can be avoided in any event except through the wisdom and power of religion. In this task, the Christian Church is called to play a major, it may be a decisive, part; and every Christian has a twofold responsibility—as a citizen and as a member of the Church of Christ.

The concrete forms of the problem vary widely in different communities and lands. There is no single or simple solution. But there are certain principles which Christians everywhere should seek to have incorporated in the sentiments and public policies of their nations and communities. Among these are:

1 The recognition of the value of every human being as a person.

2 The right of every person, whatever his race, color or present status, to the conditions essential for life as a person; to education; to opportunity in his vocation, recreation and social intercourse.

3 Full participation in fellowship and leadership for members of a less advanced people as they prove their ability.

4 Active cooperation and fellowship among leaders of different racial groups.

5 Recognition by the community of its responsibility to less privileged persons of whatever race or group, not only for their assistance and protection but also for special educational and cultural opportunities.

6 The necessity of such economic and social change as shall open the way to full opportunity for persons of all races.

However, it is as members of the Church of Christ that Christians bear the heaviest guilt for the present situation. And here is their greatest obligation and opportunity:

The first need is that the deepest inner attitude of every Christian toward persons of other races be completely transformed by the gracious gift of God into conformity with the mind of Christ. Persons of all races should become, to the Christian, sons and daughters of God, differing in color, in native endowment, in custom and outlook, but of one brotherhood in God's love and so, by God's grace, in the affection of the Christian. It is a standing rebuke to Christians that this attitude has in fact been more fully realized in some secular and non-Christian movements than within the churches. Such an inner transformation is to many Christians one of the richest gifts of God in which they greatly rejoice. It is a gift which every Christian should possess and which God waits to bestow on all who will receive it.

In the second place, Christian congregations are infected in their attitudes and practices by the same prejudices, fears, distortions of truth and exclusions as those which create the race problem in the secular community. But it is a first responsibility of the Christian Church to demonstrate within its own fellowship the reality of community as God intends it. It is commissioned to call all men into the Church, into a divine society that transcends all national and racial limitations and divisions. In its services of public worship, in its more informal fellowship and in its organization, there can be no place on any pretext whatever for exclusion or compulsory segregation because of race or color. "In Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free." The congregation or communion which allows its line of action to be determined by such racial discrimination denies the Gospel whose proclamation is its task and commission.

Third, in the Christian home there can be no barriers or discriminations because of race color or social status. It is to be recognized that such a course may involve difficulties and raise apprehensions lest such intimate social intercourse lead to unwise marriages which would oppose unfair handicaps on later generations. Yet with all its difficulties it will be gladly undertaken by the Christian in confident loyalty to the free and gracious fellowship of Christ's brethren.

Fourth, against racial pride, racial hatreds and persecutions and the

exploitation of other races in all their forms, the Church is called by God to set its face implacably and to utter its word unequivocally both within and without its own borders. There is special need at this time that the Church throughout the world bring every resource at its command against the sin of anti-Semitism.

Finally, Christians both in their private lives and in their churches should take the lead in developing greater sympathy for those in need because of unequal opportunity, those who are excluded by prevailing community customs and sentiments, those who suffer persecution, anger and spite because of their race. They will seek to bring it about that each racial group is judged by its best representatives and by the worthiest contributions it has made to the life of humanity. A conscious and constant effort should be made to resist the fears and suspicions which tend to arise from unlikeness and to cultivate friendship and cooperation in all undertakings that are of common concern in the life of the community. Here Christians must expect to sacrifice popularity in loyalty to Christian insight and love.

II. CHURCH AND STATE

(The report, after receiving the approval of the section, was submitted to the Conference, substantially in its present form. The Conference received the report, referred it back to the section for revision in the light of the discussion, and commended it to the serious and favourable consideration of the Churches. The report was revised by the section and approved by it in its present form.)

I. INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE OF THE MEMORANDUM

It is not the purpose of the following memorandum to set forth an abstract doctrine of the relation of Church and State either in sociological, legal, or theological form, but to express the Christian's attitude towards the secularization of modern society and the growing power of the State which present problems to the intelligence of Christians and lay burdens upon their consciences.

The purpose of this memorandum is to enquire what problems the existing situation presents to Christians both in their individual and in their corporate capacity, and to distinguish those principles and duties which determine the Christian attitude towards the State in all circumstances from the various applications of those principles and duties which are relevant to the different historical situations.

II. STANDPOINT

1. Fundamental Considerations

We speak as Christians; that is (*a*) as members of the Church as the body of Christ, the universal supra-national fellowship which He has called into being through His word and spirit, or, in the words of the Apostles' Creed, the Holy Catholic Church, and (*b*) as members of the many particular Churches: congregational, denominational, national, free, or established, or other forms of the Christian society, in which the life of the one Church finds varying expression.

It follows (*a*) that our witness must be based upon the revelation which God has given us in Jesus Christ and in conformity with His word in the Scripture; and (*b*) that as human beings subject to the limitations of finiteness and the guilt of sin we share responsibility for the evils of our time, and must approach the subject of our relation to the State in a spirit of repentance.

We recognize that, both as members of individual Churches and as members of the Church universal, we are related to the particular States of which we are members, not only directly as, e.g., by establishment or concordat but primarily through the people of whom the State whatever may be its constitutional structure, is the political organ: it follows that

the special duties and responsibilities of the Church with reference to the State are conditioned by all the aspects of the social life of man, economic, cultural, etc., with which both Church and State alike have to do.

We recognize the existing States as historically given realities, each of which in the political sphere is the highest authority, but which, as it stands itself under the authority and the judgment of God, is bound by His Will and has the God-given aim of upholding law and order, of ministering to the life of the people united within it or of the peoples or groups who are so united, and also of making its contribution to the common life of all peoples.

At the same time we recognize that the State as a specific form and the dominating expression of man's life in this world of sin, by its very power and its monopoly of the means of coercion, often becomes an instrument of evil. Since we believe in the holy God as the source of justice, we do not consider the State as the ultimate source of law but rather as its guarantor. It is not the lord, but the servant of justice. There can be for the Christian no ultimate authority but very God.

The State so defined has a dual relationship to the Church both as an order within which Christians have to live and witness for Christ, and as an institution which by its actions may either promote or hinder the mission of the Church, to which therefore the Church in differing historical situations may be called to take differing positions either of co-operation, criticism, or opposition. And this both in its corporate capacity and as a fellowship of witnessing Christians acting either as individuals or as groups.

2. The Present Situation with reference to Church and State

While the principles which define the Christian attitude towards the State remain always the same, their application has constantly varied in different countries and ages. And this not only because of changes in the organization and policy of differing States but of similar changes in differing branches of the Church. In any discussion of the relation of Church and State, therefore, the historical situation must always be considered.

In the course of history Church and State have taken very different attitudes towards each other, varying from the most intimate combination to complete indifference or antagonism. At the present time also their relations differ widely.

Furthermore, we have to distinguish, e.g., between (*a*) States and countries with a predominantly Christian population; (*b*) States and countries with a population which is chiefly or at least largely dechristianized; (*c*) States and countries where Christianity appears as the religion of a minority in a country with a non-Christian civilization; and again between (*d*) Churches which either completely or to a certain extent are organized independently of the State, and (*e*) Churches which are established.

There are two facts characteristic of the present situation which lay upon the Church the duty of reconsidering its relation to the State and

redefining its practical attitude. These are (*a*) the growing dechristianization of society and (*b*) the widespread tendency of the State to control the totality of human life in all its individual and social aspects, combined with the tendency to attribute absolute value to the State itself, to the national community, to the dominating class, or to the prevailing cultural form.

3. The Church's Need of Repentance and of Reconsecration

The supreme duty of the Churches in all countries as they face the present situation in the world of States and nations is to repent before God, not only by corporate acts of repentance, but by awakening the spirit of repentance in all their members: repentance for things done and things left undone. Judgment must begin at the House of God. If as Christians we are deeply disquieted by the political development of our age and our time, we have to acknowledge a large share of responsibility. We have not lived up to the Word of our Lord, "Ye are the salt of the earth and the light of the world." We have not expressed our faith in the redeeming Cross of Christ in terms of our social relations. We have accepted without clear protest existing social divisions. In like manner we recognize that Churches have at times substituted for the true totalitarianism of Christ, which requires that every activity and every relation should be subject to the Will of God, a forced totalitarianism, political in character. They have too often been far more concerned for their own security and prestige in this world than for fulfilling their Lord's commission and serving mankind in the spirit of self-sacrificing love. We to-day acknowledge with deep humility our share in this guilt.

With repentance must go reconsecration. Penitence, if sincere, must bear fruit in action. We therefore resolve by God's grace to do our utmost to prevent the repetition of such sins in the future; to discharge our duties as citizens in the spirit of Christian love; and, so far as in us lies, to create a spirit which will enable the State to fulfil its God-given task of maintaining justice and ministering to the welfare of the people.

III. PRINCIPLES

1. The Distinctive Functions of Church and State

The Church as the trustee of God's redeeming Gospel and the State as the guarantor of order, justice, and civil liberty have distinct functions in regard to society. The Church's concern is to witness to men of the realities which outlast change because they are founded on the eternal Will of God. The concern of the State is to provide men with justice, order, and security in a world of sin and change. As it is the aim of the Church to create a community founded on divine love, it cannot do its work by coercion, nor must it compromise the standards embodied in God's commandments by surrender to the necessities of the day. The State, on

the other hand, has the duty of maintaining public order, and therefore must use coercion and accept the limits of the practicable.

The distinctive character of the Church's activity is the free operation of grace and love. The distinctive character of the State's activity, whatever its constructive function in the cultural and social life may be, is the power of constraint, legal and physical. In consequence there are certain social activities which clearly belong to the Church, others which clearly belong to the State; there are, however, still others which may be performed by either Church or State. In this area tension is unavoidable and solutions will vary in varying historical circumstances. It is true that Our Lord told His disciples to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. But it is God who declares what is Caesar's. Therefore, whatever the choice may be, the Christian must always, whether as a member of the Church or as a citizen, obey the Will of God.

2. Duties of the Church to the State

The primary duty of the Church to the State is to be the Church, namely, to witness for God, to preach His Word, to confess the faith before men, to teach both young and old to observe the divine commandments, and to serve the nation and the State by proclaiming the Will of God as the supreme standard to which all human wills must be subject and all human conduct must conform. These functions of worship, preaching, teaching, and ministry the Church cannot renounce whether the State consent or not.

From this responsibility certain duties follow for the Churches and for their members.

a. With reference to the individual State:

(I) That of praying for the State, its people and its government;

(II) That of loyalty and obedience to the State, disobedience becoming a duty only if obedience would be clearly contrary to the command of God.

(III) That of co-operation with the State in promoting the welfare of the citizens, and of lending moral support to the State when it upholds the standards of justice set forth in the Word of God;

(IV) That of criticism of the State when it departs from those standards;

(V) That of holding before men in all their legislation and administration those principles which make for the upholding of the dignity of man who is made in the image of God;

(VI) That of permeating the public life with the spirit of Christ and of training men and women who as Christians can contribute to this end.

These duties rest upon Christians not only as individuals redeemed by Christ who must witness for Him in whatever position they may occupy in the State, but also upon the Church as a Christian community. The Church can serve the State in no better way than by illustrating in its own life the kind of life which is God's Will for society as a whole. Only in the measure that it seeks to realize this mission is it in a position to rebuke the State for its sins and failures for which both individual Christians and the Church in its organized capacity have been in no small measure responsible.

b. With reference to the State in its relations to other States:

In the interpretation of these duties it is important to keep in mind that as the Church in its own sphere is a universal society, so to Christian faith the individual State is not itself the ultimate political unit, but a member of a family of nations with international relations and duties which it is the responsibility not only of the individual Christians but also of the Churches to affirm and to promote.

3. The Freedom of the Church

In a State which is Christian by profession it is self-evident that the Church should be free to the fullest extent to fulfil its function.

It should also be evident that where in such a State there are majority and minority Churches the same essential liberty to carry out the Church's function should be enjoyed by minorities as well as by the majority. All Churches should renounce the use of the coercive power of the State in matters of religion. Membership in a minority Church should not be a reason for denying full civil and political equality.

In countries where the Church finds in the theory and constitution of the State nothing on which to base a claim to right, this does not absolve the Church from its primary duty of witness. This duty must then include a witness against such a denial of fundamental justice. And if the State tries to hinder or suppress such witness, all other Churches have the duty of supporting this Church and giving it the utmost succour and relief in their power.

We recognize as essential conditions necessary to the Church's fulfilment of its primary duty that it should enjoy (*a*) freedom to determine its faith and creed; (*b*) freedom of public and private worship, preaching and teaching; (*c*) freedom from any imposition by the State of religious ceremonies and forms of worship; (*d*) freedom to determine the nature of its government and the qualifications of its ministers and members, and, conversely, the freedom of the individual to join the Church to which he feels called; (*e*) freedom to control the education of its ministers, to give religious instruction to its youth, and to provide for adequate development of their religious life; (*f*) freedom of Christian service and missionary activity, both home and foreign; (*g*) freedom to co-operate with other Churches; (*h*) freedom to use such facilities, open to all citizens

or associations, as will make possible the accomplishment of these ends, as, e.g., the ownership of property and the collection of funds.

The freedom essential for the Church can in fact exist both in Churches organized as free associations under the general laws of a country or as established Churches in an organic or otherwise special connection with the State. If, however, this connection should result in impairing the Church's freedom to carry out its distinctive mission, it would then become the duty of its ministers and members to do all in their power to secure this freedom, even at the cost of disestablishment.

4. The Present Tasks of the Church

What then follows from this survey as to the present tasks and opportunities of the Churches? This at least, that it is their duty (*a*) to summon their own members to repentance, both as individuals and organized bodies, for their sins of omission and of commission and to pray for the spirit of consecration which shall make of them, both in their separate and in their united activities, agents which God may use for His purpose in the world; (*b*) to create within the local community, the nation, and the world such agencies of co-operative action as shall make it possible for them to discharge effectively such tasks as can be done in common; (*c*) to summon their individual members in their several callings, not only their clerical but also their lay members, men and women, to co-operate with the State in such constructive tasks as may be for the good of the whole; (*d*) to guard for all Churches, both as groups of witnessing Christians and in their organized capacity, the opportunity of worship, of witness, of service, and of education which is essential to their mission, and this not for their own sake only, but for the sake of the State; (*e*) to follow with sympathetic interest the fortunes of those, Christians and non-Christians, who are victims of cruelty and oppression, and to do what they can to secure for them a treatment compatible with the dignity of their human personality as children of God; (*f*) to renounce publicly and for ever the use of all forms of persecution, whether by Christians against other Christians, or by Christians against adherents of other religions.

III. THE CHURCH AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER

(This report was the first to be presented to the full Conference, and was submitted in shorter form. The Conference received the report, referred it back to the section for revision in the light of the discussion, and commended it to the serious and favourable consideration of the Churches. The report was revised and expanded by the section and approved in its present form by all the members present at the final meeting of the section.)

PART I. THE BASIS OF THE CHRISTIAN CONCERN FOR THE ECONOMIC ORDER

The Christian Church approaches the problems of the social and economic order from the standpoint of her faith in the revelation of God in Christ. In the Life and Death of Our Lord, God is revealed as a just God who condemns sin and as a merciful God who redeems sinners. The nature and will of God as thus revealed is the basis of human existence and the standard of human conduct. The chief end of man is to glorify God, to honour and love Him, in work and life, as in worship. This love involves the obligation to love our neighbours as ourselves, a second commandment which Jesus declared to be like unto the first.

This love of neighbour is an obligation which partly rests upon the native worth and dignity of man as made in the image of God. In all systems of morality this obligation is to a greater or less degree recognized. Christianity, however, recognizes that the image of God in man is so defaced by sin that man's native worth and dignity is largely obscured. For this reason it must be emphasized that our obligation to the neighbour springs not so much from our recognition of man's native dignity as from the Christian revelation of God's purpose to restore that dignity through the redemption that is in Christ. The obligation is therefore a duty towards God and continues to be operative even when the neighbour does not obviously demand or deserve respect. We must love our fellow-men because God loves them and wills to redeem them.

The Kingdom of God, as proclaimed in the Gospel, is the reign of God which both has come and is coming. It is an established reality in the coming of Christ and in the presence of His Spirit in the world. It is however still in conflict with a sinful world, which crucified its Lord, and its ultimate triumph is still to come. In so far as it has come, the will of God as revealed in Christ (that is, the commandment of love) is the ultimate standard of Christian conduct. Standards drawn from the observation of human behaviour or prompted by immediate necessities are not only less complete than the commandment of love but frequently contain elements that contradict it. In so far as the Kingdom of God is in conflict with the world, and is therefore still to come, the Christian finds himself under the necessity of discovering the best available means of checking human sinfulness and of increasing the possibilities and opportunities of love within a sinful world.

The relative and departmental standard for all the social arrangements and institutions, all the economic structures and political systems, by which the life of man is ordered, is the principle of justice. Justice, as the ideal of a harmonious relation of life to life, obviously presupposes the sinful tendency of one life to take advantage of another. This sinful tendency it seeks to check, by defining the rightful place and privilege which each life must have in the harmony of the whole and by assigning the duty of each to each. Justice does not demand that the self *sacrifice* itself completely for the neighbour's good, but seeks to define and to maintain the good which each member of the community may rightfully claim in the harmony of the whole.

The principle of justice has both a positive and negative significance.

Negatively, principles of justice restrain evil and the evildoer. They must therefore become embodied in systems of coercion which prevent men from doing what sinful ambition, pride, lust, and greed might prompt them to do. This necessary coercion is itself a root of new evils, since the exercise of coercion involves power, and power tempts the possessor to its unrighteous use. Furthermore coercion may arouse resentment among those coerced, even when its purpose is a necessary social end. The use of power and coercion cannot therefore be regarded by Christians as ultimately desirable. Criticism against its abuses must be constantly maintained. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that the practice of Christian love will ever obviate the necessity for coercive political and economic arrangements.

The laws of justice are not purely negative. They are not merely "dykes against sin." The political and economic structure of society is also the mechanical skeleton which carries the organic element in society. Forms of production and methods of co-operation may serve the cause of human brotherhood by serving and extending the principle of love beyond the sphere of purely personal relations.

The commandment of love therefore always presents possibilities for individuals beyond the requirements of economic and social institutions. There is no legal, political, or economic system so bad or so good as to absolve individuals from the responsibility to transcend its requirements by acts of Christian charity. Institutional requirements necessarily prescribe only the minimum. Even in the best possible social system they can only achieve general standards in which the selfishness of the human heart is taken for granted and presupposed. But the man who is in Christ knows a higher obligation, which transcends the requirements of justice—the obligation of a love which is the fulfilment of the law.

The love which is the fulfilment of the law is, however, no substitute for law, for institutions, or for systems. Individual acts of charity within a given system of government or economics may mitigate its injustices and increase its justice. But they do not absolve the Christian from seeking the best possible institutional arrangement and social structure for the ordering of human life. Undue emphasis upon the higher possibilities of love in personal relations, within the limits of a given system of justice or an

established social structure, may tempt Christians to allow individual acts of charity to become a screen for injustice and a substitute for justice. Christianity becomes socially futile if it does not recognize that love must will justice and that the Christian is under an obligation to secure the best possible social and economic structure, in so far as such structure is determined by human decisions.

The relation of the commandment of love to the justice of political and economic systems is twofold. It is an ideal which reaches beyond any possible achievements in the field of political relations, but it is nevertheless also a standard by which various schemes of justice may be judged. In attempting to deal with political and economic problems, the Christian must therefore be specially on his guard against two errors.

The one is to regard the realities of social justice incorporated in given systems and orders as so inferior to the law of love that the latter cannot be a principle of discrimination between them but only a principle of indiscriminate judgment upon them all. This error makes Christianity futile as a guide in all those decisions which Christians, like other people, must constantly be making in the political and economic sphere. Practically, it gives the advantage to established systems as against the challenge of new social adventures and experiments; for it tempts Christians to make no decisions at all, and such efforts to reserve decision become in practice decisions in favour of the *status quo*.

The other error is to identify some particular social system with the will of God or to equate it with the Kingdom of God. When conservatives insist on such identification in favour of the *status quo* they impart a dangerous religious sanction to it which must drive those who challenge the *status quo* into a secular revolt against religion itself. If, on the other hand, this identification is made in the interests of a new social order, it will lead to the same complacency which the critic deprecates in the old social situation. Every tendency to identify the Kingdom of God with a particular structure of society or economic mechanism must result in moral confusion for those who maintain the system and in disillusionment for those who suffer from its limitations. The former will regard conformity with its standards as identical with the fulfilment of the law, thus falling into the sin of pharisaism. The latter will be tempted to a cynical disavowal of the religion, because it falsely gives absolute worth to partial values and achievements. Both errors are essentially heretical from the point of view of Christian faith. The one denies the reality of the Kingdom of God in history; the other equates the Kingdom of God with the processes of history. In the one case, the ultimate and eternal destiny of human existence, which transcends history, is made to support an attitude of indifference towards historical social issues; in the other case, the eternal destiny of human existence is denied or obscured. The law of love which is the standard of the Christian life is properly regarded as at the same time both a present reality and an ultimate possibility. It is not only a criterion of judgment in all the fateful decisions which men must make in history, but also an indictment against all historical achievements.

As a criterion of judgment upon the relative merits of economic arrangements and social structures, the law of love gives positive guidance, in terms of justice, even though it transcends the realities of all possible social structures. The obligation to love our neighbours as ourselves places clearly under condemnation all social and economic systems which give one man undue advantage over others. It must create an uneasy conscience (for example) in all Christians who are involved in a social system which denies children, of whatever race or class, the fullest opportunity to develop whatever gifts God has given them and makes their education depend upon the fortuitous circumstance of a father's possession or lack of means to provide the necessary funds. It must challenge any social system which provides social privileges without reference to the social functions performed by individuals, or which creates luxury and pride on the one hand, and want and insecurity on the other. It makes the conscience of Christians particularly uneasy in regard to the deprivation of basic security for large masses of human beings.

PART II. ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

There is to-day no *one* economic order which ecumenical Christianity faces. The Government of the U.S.S.R., for example, exercises jurisdiction over one-sixth of all the land surface of the globe, on which there lives one-twelfth of the world's population, including (it has been estimated) one-fifth of the population of the industrialized world. The economic and social structure of this huge territory is fundamentally different from that prevailing elsewhere. Again, National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy have evolved economic systems each of which differs in important respects from those of other so-called capitalist countries. And between the types of capitalism which are evolving in democratic states—the Scandinavian countries, France, the United States, Great Britain, etc.—there are also differences of a highly important kind. The amount, for instance, of social and industrial legislation which has been passed in Great Britain, and the extent to which Trade Unions have for many years been recognized there, make the economic system of that country very different from that found in the United States. For the present purpose it seems wise to concentrate attention on what can broadly be described as the capitalist economic system, though it must always be borne in mind, not only that this phrase is liable to be dangerously misleading, but also that a large part of the world lies outside its ambit.

The present economic situation in the countries under consideration is a product of the emancipation of the individual from the social and cultural restrictions of the Middle Ages. In so far as the spirit and the institutions of the feudal order and of the guild system had restrained, in spite of their religious and cultural creativity, the free development of human potentialities, the dawning of the capitalist age must be considered a definite step forward in the progress of humanity. This is true of the intellectual as well as of the political and economic achievements of that

age. The system of free enterprise is responsible for that industrial development which, for the first time in human history, has made it possible to overcome the natural scarcity of economic resources by successive technological improvements. Despite the vast increase of the world's population it has raised to a considerable degree the general standard of consumption. By the mechanization of industry it has reduced the physical labour of the manual workers. For the first time in history it has brought all parts of the world into interdependence with each other and has made the idea of the unity of mankind a fact of common experience.

It was thought at one time that the development of this new economic order would not only improve the material conditions of life but would also establish social justice. This expectation was rooted in the belief that a preestablished harmony would so govern the self-interest of individuals as to create the greatest possible harmony in society as a whole. "Each man, seeking his own, would serve the commonweal." To-day this belief is largely discredited. The attempt of human reason to create an autonomous and universal culture has resulted in a variety of independent and specialized cultural activities, which are not related to any one organizing principle, and which consequently lack that unity that we believe can be realized only through the penetration of the whole by the spirit of religion. The absence of this spiritual centre from the economic order has involved the progressive dissipation of the spiritual inheritance of Western life. The same forces which had produced material progress have often enhanced inequalities, created permanent insecurity, and subjected all members of modern society to the domination of so-called independent economic "laws." The competitive superiority of large-scale production has gone far to destroy the old traditional society of craftsmen and farmers, and thereby has created a society which is characterized in many countries by the concentration of wealth, on the one hand, and the existence of large urban masses on the other. The progressive mechanization of industry has periodically thrown large numbers of workers into long periods of unemployment. The cycle of industrial fluctuations has caused a tremendous waste of productive power and, in consequence, "poverty in the midst of plenty."

At the same time the human side of economic life has been profoundly affected. Broadly speaking, capitalistic production has not escaped the danger of treating human labour as a commodity, to be bought at the lowest possible price and to be utilized to the greatest possible extent. The predominance of the profit motive has tended to deprive the worker of the social meaning of his work and has encouraged hostility between the members of different groups in their economic relationships.

In the course of the nineteenth century the worst evils which accompanied the rise of capitalism were mitigated in the more advanced industrial nations. There was a rapid growth in the population of the industrialized part of the world, and the constant expansion of markets in industrially undeveloped countries reduced the social and economic pressure in the indus-

trialized countries. These trade outlets made it possible to satisfy many of the demands of the poorer sections of the community, by the increase of real wages and by social legislation in various fields. Under social and political pressure the various governments of the Western world enacted laws providing for graduated taxation and for old-age pensions, sickness and accident insurance, etc. The success of the trade unions and the co-operative movement helped also in this process of the mitigation of social evils.

But industrial expansion and technical progress have tended to defeat their own ends. In place of free trade and free competition, which were characteristic principles of the earlier expansionist period of capitalism, protectionist measures were adopted by the State and monopolies were established in many fields of economic enterprise. One of the causes of this change lay in the fact that former "backward" and colonial nations had been industrial competitors. The consequent contraction of markets accentuated the competition of nations for the remaining markets of the world. Through this development, the earlier stage of competitive capitalism has been gradually replaced by a monopolistic stage, and this economic change has brought with it corresponding political consequences. On the one hand, the economic process has been increasingly subjected to State control and interference; and, on the other hand, leading industrial and financial groups have been tempted to obtain the support of the State for their particular interests, and the original ideal of modern democracy has thus in practice become increasingly difficult to achieve.

The World War and its economic consequences have accelerated and accentuated these tendencies, not only within the economy of particular nations but also in the relationship of state to state. As the former outlets for economic expansion have become progressively more narrow, the fundamental tensions of the capitalistic economic order are becoming increasingly manifest to our generation. The older tendency towards free competition remains a factor in all Western nations, and contends against the new tendency towards monopoly and State control. Out of this conflict social and economic systems have emerged in the different nations which contain elements of both tendencies in varying proportions.

While the agrarian population participated in the benefits of capitalistic expansion in the latter period of the nineteenth century, the recent mechanization of agricultural production has also drawn predominantly agrarian areas in many parts of the world into a rapid process of transformation.

This brief survey would be incomplete without calling attention to the effect of capitalistic development upon countries, such as China and India, which had not been active participants in the process. Their observation of the process in other nations, and their reaction to economic exploitation by capitalistic powers, have prompted a widespread demand for radical social change through which the benefits of industrialization might be secured and the evils from which the industrialized nations of the West are suffering might be avoided.

A consequence of this development of capitalism was the rise of socialism and communism. These movements represent a protest against the evil results of the capitalist economic order from those who suffered chiefly from it. In several countries this protest allied itself with a radical denial of Christianity, the Church, and belief in God. This is *partly* due to the fact that the Churches had become deeply involved in the social and cultural attitudes of the wealthier members of society, upon whom they were frequently dependent, politically and economically. As the Churches did not detach themselves from these alliances a disastrous chasm opened between those (on the one hand) who were struggling for social justice but on non-religious or anti-religious grounds, and those (on the other hand) who stood for the Christian faith but did not seem to recognize existing injustices. This is one of the reasons why victorious communism persecutes the Christian Churches, denounces religion as a tool of reaction, and seeks to eradicate it; and why in other countries the ruthless persecution of communists and socialists is either tolerated without protest or supported by Christians and Churches.

Facing this situation the Christian Churches must first of all acknowledge and repent for their blindness to the actual situation; for this blindness is partly responsible for such hostility as exists between themselves and the radical movements which aim at social justice. The Churches must not regard an attack directed against themselves as an attack directed against God. They must acknowledge that God has spoken to their conscience through these movements, by revealing through them the real situation of millions of their members. On the other hand, the Churches must continue resolutely to reject those elements in the actual development of communism which conflict with the Christian truth: the *Utopianism* which looks for the fulfilment of human existence through the natural process of history, and which presupposes that the improvement of social institutions will automatically produce an improvement in human personalities; the *materialism* which derives all moral and spiritual values from economic needs and economic conditions, and deprives the personal and cultural life of its creative freedom; and, finally, that *disregard for the dignity of the individual* in which communism may differ theoretically, but in which it does not differ practically, from other contemporary totalitarian movements.

PART III. POINTS AT WHICH THE CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF LIFE IS CHALLENGED

At the beginning of this part of the report attention should be called to the potentialities for good in the economic order. Situations vary in different parts of the world, but in many countries it already seems possible, through the full utilization of the resources of the new technology and through the release of human productive power, to remove the kind of poverty which is crippling to human personality. There is a sense in which poverty is a relative matter, and hence in any situation would be

present in some form; but we are thinking of the poverty which would be regarded in any age as denying the physical necessities of life. The abolition of such poverty now seems to depend on the human organization of economic life, rather than on factors given in nature or on what might be called the inevitable constitution of every economic order. But the possibility of economic "plenty" has this moral importance, that to an increasing extent it makes the persistence of poverty a matter for which men are morally responsible. This possibility marks off our time from the period of the New Testament and from other periods in which Christian thinking about economic life has been formulated. In the light of it the direction of Christian effort in relation to the economic order should henceforth be turned from charitable paternalism to the realization of more equal justice in the distribution of wealth. Moreover, Christians who live in the more privileged geographical areas must recognize that the securing of economic plenty and greater justice in its distribution within their respective national groups is not the whole of their duty in this connection; they cannot escape some measure of responsibility for those areas where for years to come there will doubtless be desperate economic need.

It seems to us that the moral and spiritual nature of man, according to the Christian understanding of that nature, is affronted by the assumptions and operation of the economic order of the industrialized world, in four respects to which we wish to draw special attention.

1. The Enhancement of Acquisitiveness

This economic order results, in the first place, in a serious danger that the finer qualities of the human spirit will be sacrificed to an overmastering preoccupation with a department of life which, though important on its own plane, ought to be strictly subordinated to other more serious aspects of life. We are warned in the New Testament that riches are a danger to their possessors, and experience would appear to confirm that diagnosis. It is not possible to serve both God and Mammon. When the necessary work of society is so organized as to make the acquisition of wealth the chief criterion of success it encourages a feverish scramble for money, and a false respect for the victors in the struggle, which is as fatal in its moral consequences as any other form of idolatry. In so far as the pursuit of monetary gain becomes the dominant factor in the lives of men, the quality of society undergoes a subtle disintegration. That such a society should be the scene of a perpetual conflict of interests, sometimes concealed, sometimes overt, between the economic groups composing them, is not surprising. Men can co-operate only in so far as they are united by allegiance to a common purpose which is recognized as superior to their sectional interests. As long as industry is organized, primarily, not for the service of the community but with the object of producing a purely financial result for some of its members, it cannot be recognized as properly fulfiling its social purpose.

2. Inequalities

The second feature of the economic system which challenges the conscience of Christians is the existence of disparities of economic circumstances on a scale which differs from country to country, but in some is shocking, in all considerable. Not only is the product of industry distributed with an inequality so extreme (though the extent of this inequality also varies considerably from country to country) that a small minority of the population are in receipt of incomes exceeding in the aggregate those of many times their number, but—even more seriously—the latter are condemned throughout their lives to environmental evils which the former escape, and are deprived of the opportunities of fully developing their powers, which are accessible, as a matter of course, to their more fortunate fellows. It is no part of the teaching of Christianity that all men are equally endowed by nature, or that identical provision should be made for all, irrespective of difference of capacity and need. What it does assert is that all men are children of one Father, and that, compared with that primary and overwhelming fact, the differences between the races, nationalities, and classes of men, though important on their own plane, are external and trivial. Any social arrangement which outrages the dignity of man, by treating some men as ends and others as means, any institution which obscures the common humanity of men by emphasizing the external accidents of birth, or wealth, or social position, is *ipso facto* anti-Christian.

There is one aspect of the subject which deserves special emphasis. Whatever their differences on other subjects, Christians cannot be in doubt as to the primary duty of ensuring that the conditions required for full personal development are enjoyed by the whole of the rising generation. In some countries that obligation receives fuller recognition than in others, but of few, if any, can it be said that equal opportunities of physical and mental growth are available for all. It is still the case, even in some of the wealthy nations of Western Europe, that large numbers of children undergo grave injury to their health before they reach the age of school attendance, though the methods by which such injury can be prevented are well known; that the educational provision made for them when at school is often, owing to reluctance to spend the sums required, gravely defective in quality; that many of them are plunged prematurely into full-time work in industry, where too often they are employed under conditions injurious both to their characters and to their physical well-being; and that diversities of educational provision correspond to differences of income among parents rather than of capacity among children. It often happens that these disadvantages are greatly increased where economic opportunities are denied on racial grounds. This racial discrimination is seen in various forms: a double standard of wages; the inability of members of certain races, whatever their competence may be, to rise above a certain level of responsibility in their respective callings; their exclusion in some circumstances from labour unions; and the refusal to admit members of some racial groups to occupations reserved for members of the dominant race.

3. Irresponsible Possession of Economic Power

A third feature of the existing situation which is repugnant to the Christian conscience consists in the power wielded by a few individuals or groups who are not responsible to any organ of society. This gives the economic order in many countries some resemblance to a tyranny in the classical sense of that term, where rulers are not accountable for their actions to any superior authority representing the community over whom power is exercised. At the top of this hierarchy are the leaders of the world of finance, whose decisions raise and lower the economic temperature. Below them are the controllers of certain great key industries, the conduct and policy of which vitally effect the lives of millions of human beings. Below them again are a mass of economic undertakings, large and small, the masters of which exercise power over the few hundred, or few thousand, persons dependent on each of them. The power which these wield is qualified at many points by trade unionism and by law. On the whole, however, the action both of trade unionism and of the State has been confined hitherto to establishing and maintaining certain minimum standards. Almost the whole field of economic strategy, which in the long run determines what standards can be maintained, escapes their control.

Economic, like political, autocracy is attended doubtless by certain advantages. However, it is liable to produce both in individuals and in society a character and outlook on life which it is difficult to reconcile with any relationship that can be described as Christian. It tends to create in those who wield authority, and in the agents through whom they exercise it, a dictatorial temper, which springs not from any defect of charcter peculiar to them, but from the influence upon them of the position which they occupy. The effect of excessive economic power on those over whom it is exercised is equally serious. Often it makes them servile; fear of losing their jobs, and a vague belief that, in the end, the richer members of society always hold the whip-hand, tends to destroy their spiritual virility. Often, again, it makes them bitter and cynical; they feel that force, not justice, rules their world, and are tempted to dismiss, as insincere cant, words which imply a different view.

4. The Frustration of the Sense of Christian Vocation

A profound conflict has arisen between the demand (on the one hand) that the Christian should be doing the will of God in his daily work, and (on the other) the actual kinds of work which Christians find themselves forced to do within the economic order. With regard to the worker and employee, there is the fact that most of them are *directly* conscious of working for the profit of the employer (and for the sake of their wages) and only *indirectly* conscious of working for any public good; while this fact may in some cases be only part of the mechanism by which the work is done for the public good, the difficulty in part remains. Again, there is the fact that at present many workers must produce things which are useless or shoddy or destructive. Finally, one other form of work which

seems clearly to be in conflict with the Christian's vocation is salesmanship of a kind which involves deception—the deception which may be no more than insinuation and exaggeration, but which is a serious threat to the integrity of the worker.

But even more serious is the constant threat of unemployment. This produces a feeling of extreme insecurity in the minds of masses of the people. Unemployment, especially when prolonged, tends to create in the mind of the unemployed person a sense of uselessness, or even of being a nuisance, and to empty his life of any meaning. This situation cannot be met by measures of unemployment assistance, because it is the lack of significant activity which tends to destroy his human self-respect.

PART IV. CHRISTIAN DECISIONS IN RESPONSE TO THIS CHALLENGE

It has been pointed out above (in Part I) that the message of the Gospel is not addressed, as has sometimes been suggested, to the individual alone. Christianity is emphatically a social religion. Its teaching is directed to men, not as units isolated from their fellows, but as members of groups and communities. It insists that the only life in which human beings can find peace and happiness is that of service and self-sacrifice. It asserts that the relations of men to each other are part of their relation to God. It emphasizes that, if the former are not what the Christian conscience would approve, then the latter necessarily share their corruption. "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love God whom he hath not seen?"

These relations are, of course, of many different kinds. But, in the case of the majority of men, they are determined more directly and more continuously by the action of economic interests than by any other single force. It is clearly the duty of Christians, therefore, to test by the canons of their Faith not merely their individual conduct and the quality of their private lives, but also the institutional framework of organized society. In so far as they are true to their creed, they cannot either take the economic system for granted, or dismiss it as irrelevant to the life of the spirit. They are bound to require it to present its moral credentials; to examine those credentials in the light of Christian doctrine as to the nature of God and man; and, in so far as it fails to satisfy that criterion, to use every effort to amend or to supersede it. If detachment is incumbent on Christians in reaching their conclusions, courage in stating and energy in acting on them are no less among their duties.

Whatever agreements may be reached by Christians concerning their responsibility for seeking to eradicate those features of the economic order which challenge the Christian conscience, it is an historic fact, which we can hardly expect to obviate in the future, that men who belong to the Christian Church and who are united by common religious convictions differ in the conception and in the execution of their political obligations.

The profoundest difference at the present time in many countries seems to be between those who believe that the challenges to the Christian faith outlined in the previous section can be met within the framework of a system of private enterprise, and those who demand the supplanting of that system by one primarily based upon the social ownership of the means of production. But even within these two general divisions of opinion other differences of great importance, about the precise means of improving the present system, or about the *tempo* and the degree of reconstruction needed, have revealed themselves in the work of this Conference. These differences are an accurate reflection, we believe, of similar differences in the whole Church.

These differences are of course partly differences of judgment which honest minds face in any realm of human decision. On the one hand it must be recognized that differences in political opinion are partly derived from the varying circumstances—economic, geographic, and historical—which help to condition human judgments. Human judgments upon issues in which our own lives are involved are naturally less impartial than those which concern purely objective problems. The very recognition of this fact within the Church might well mitigate the extremism to which each group is tempted. If those who are comparatively secure recognize the temptation to complacency which this security implies, the temper of the insecure may speak to their conscience and not merely incite their temper. On the other hand the proponents of a new social system are always tempted to identify every existing evil with the particular social organization in which it expresses itself. They find it difficult to disassociate perennial human sinfulness from particular historic forms of it. They are furthermore tempted to a hatred towards the representatives of a given social order which is not justified by the facts, since evils in it are only partly willed and partly the inevitable consequence of a given social situation which good men may mitigate but not overcome. Thus there are at least two attitudes to political and economic problems which seem to be definitely incompatible with membership of the Christian Church: the complacent defence of exclusive privilege on the one hand and unteachable and self-righteous fanaticism on the other.

Among the various proposals for reform or reconstruction of the economic system several deserve special mention here. Within terms of the present system, the various proposals may be generally reduced to two: (*a*) Those which look towards exerting a greater degree of social and political control upon, and demanding a greater degree of social responsibility from, the holders of great economic power; (*b*) Those which seek to equalize the inequalities of economic society by heavy taxation on the one hand and by social legislation on the other hand. Every modern industrial nation has adopted these two social policies to a greater or less degree. A third policy of seeking to prevent the centralization of power by Government destruction of monopoly and by Government support of small farmers, small traders, etc., is less popular in all industrial nations than

it was some decades ago. All these policies point to a recognition that the chief dangers of a system of private enterprise are irresponsible power and inequality.

Among those who believe in the transformation or reconstruction of a system of private enterprise to one of social ownership there are wide varieties of conviction on the means and *tempo* of this process of reconstruction. There is a general hope that this can be done by gradual process and through the resources of democratic political forms. Nevertheless some feel that, however desirable it may be to make all social decisions through the democratic process, there is no way of guaranteeing the acquiescence of minorities, upon which the democratic process depends. They point out that in moments of great social crisis every society must deal with the possibility that minorities, whether Conservative or Radical, may defy rather than submit to the will of the majority. But recent Russian history offers such telling examples of the danger of irresponsible political power supplanting irresponsible economic power, if the democratic control of power is destroyed, that the determination of the nations which still possess democratic forms to preserve and maintain them has been greatly reinforced.

There remain among proponents of social ownership a wide variety of opinion on the degree of socialization of property required by a technical civilization. Most generally it is the basic industries and the natural resources for which such socialization is demanded. The socialization of land, of retail trade, and of small industry finds fewer proponents, though the first is an issue wherever feudal forms of land ownership and tenantry are still in existence.

There are certain social proposals which fall between the policy of maintaining the system of private property and that of socializing it. Chief among these are the proposals for the socialization of money and credit, and for the extension of the principle of co-operation through voluntary co-operative enterprises. Both of these proposals have secured particularly strong support among Christian people on the ground that on the one hand they offer the opportunity of eliminating the evils of the present system in a more thoroughgoing fashion, and that on the other hand they involve less social conflict and tension. The question which the first proposal must answer is whether money and credit are more organically related to property than it assumes. The second proposal must answer the question whether co-operatives, which have thus far developed only in the realm of consumers' goods, can affect in any way the problems of heavy industry.

All of these proposals involve technical issues upon which technical evidence varies, and it is therefore impossible to claim a moral obligation in support of any of them. There is always the possibility that new institutions will reintroduce ancient evils in a new form, or substitute new evils for those which have been abolished. Such a question involves technical problems on which Christians as Christians are not competent to pronounce. It would be well however for Christians to beware lest the weight

which is accorded to technical evidence, in the support or rejection of any one proposal, be determined by the particular bias of the social group to which they belong.

The Christian Church is a fellowship in Christ which transcends differences of judgment and divergences of action in relation to the concrete economic situation. Further, if only Christians are brought to repentance in the light of the Christian message, they can never maintain that attitude of fanatical hatred toward members of other groups which is now so common in the world. They and their opponents are both sinners in the presence of God, and the recognition of this fact, in social as well as in personal terms, would itself be a great constructive contribution towards moderating the bitterness of the struggle between social groups.

PART V. CHRISTIAN TEACHING IN RELATION TO THE ECONOMIC ORDER

We have stated in Part III of this report the special points at which there is a conflict between the present economic order and the Christian understanding of life. In Part IV we have pointed out the kind of social decisions which have to be made by all Christians as citizens.

But it is not enough to say that these problems are chiefly the responsibility of Christian individuals or Christian lay groups and leave the matter there. The further question must be raised, What guidance can those who must make these decisions concerning the economic order receive from their Christian faith? That question places great responsibility upon those in the Church who have the task of interpreting the meaning of Christian faith. In this work of interpretation the clergy should have a specially important contribution to make, but that contribution must be made with understanding of the experience of laymen. It is important that whenever this Christian guidance is crystallized in the reports and pronouncements of official Church bodies, or of such a conference as the Oxford Conference, laymen should share with the clergy this task of formulation. These laymen should come from various economic groups. This section of the report will be an attempt to formulate the kind of guidance which it is now possible to receive from Christian faith for economic life. We are here dealing directly with what the teaching of the Church as a Church should be concerning the economic order.

We must begin by recognizing that there are some factors in economic life which are more clearly within the province of the Church, and concerning which more light can be gained from the Christian message than others, and that there are many matters of judgment in particular situations which involve chiefly expert knowledge.

Recognizing, then, the importance of attempting to mark out as clearly as possible the precise areas within which the Christian can expect to receive light from the Christian faith, and within which the teaching of the Church as Church in regard to economic life should be carried on, we proceed to

suggest three such areas. In presenting these areas we are suggesting what might be the framework of the Christian message in relation to the economic order in the next decade.

(A) *Christian teaching should deal with ends, in the sense of long-range goals, standards, and principles in the light of which every concrete situation and every proposal for improving it must be tested.* It is in the light of such ends and principles that the four characteristics of the existing economic order discussed in section three stand out as challenges to the Christian Church. There are differences in theory concerning the way in which these ends are related to the Christian faith. Some would be very careful not to call these ends Christian and yet they would recognize that they are ends which *Christians* should seek in obedience to God.

We suggest five such ends or standards, by way of example, as applicable to the testing of any economic situation.

(1) Right fellowship between man and man being a condition of man's fellowship with God, every economic arrangement which frustrates or restricts it must be modified—and in particular such ordering of economic life as tends to divide the community into classes based upon differences of wealth and to occasion a sense of injustice among the poorer members of society. To every member of the community there must be made open a worthy means of livelihood. The possibilities of amassing private accumulations of wealth should be so limited that the scale of social values is not perverted by the fear and the envy, the insolence and the servility, which tend to accompany extreme inequality.

(2) Regardless of race or class every child and youth must have opportunities of education suitable for the full development of his particular capacities, and must be free from those adventitious handicaps in the matter of health and environment which our society loads upon large numbers of the children of the less privileged classes. In this connection, the protection of the family as a social unit should be an urgent concern of the community.

(3) Persons disabled from economic activity, whether by sickness, infirmity, or age, should not be economically penalized on account of their disability, but on the contrary should be the object of particular care. Here again the safeguarding of the family is involved.

(4) Labour has intrinsic worth and dignity, as being designed by God for man's welfare. The duty and the right of men to work should therefore alike be emphasized. In the industrial process labour should never be considered as a mere commodity. In their daily work men should be able to recognize and fulfil a Christian vocation. The working man, whether in field or factory, is entitled to a living wage, wholesome surroundings, and a recognized voice in the decisions which affect his welfare as a worker.

(5) The resources of the earth, such as the soil and mineral wealth, should be recognized as gifts of God to the whole human race, and used

with due and balanced consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

The implications of even one of these standards, seriously taken, will involve drastic changes in economic life. Each one of them must be made more definite in terms of the problems which face particular communities.

Closely connected with the foregoing paragraphs is the whole question of property—so closely indeed that any action on the part of the community which affects property rights will also affect the application of the standards mentioned. This is a sphere in which Christian teaching on ends and principles in relation to economic life could have immediate results if it were translated into actual economic decisions. Christian thought has already supplied a background which is of great importance, but it has not been brought into effective relationship with the development of the institutions of property under modern economic conditions. This subject should be given close attention by any agencies for further study which may be established in the future. Meanwhile we suggest a few of the directions along which Christian thought should move.

(1) It should be reaffirmed without qualification that all human property rights are relative and contingent only in virtue of the dependence of man upon God as the giver of all wealth and the creator of man's capacities to develop the resources of nature. This fundamental Christian conviction must express itself both in the idea of stewardship or trusteeship and in the willingness of the Christian to examine accumulations of property in the light of their social consequences.

(2) The existing system of property rights and the existing distribution of property must be criticized in the light of the largely non-moral processes by which they have been developed, and criticism must take account of the fact that every argument in defense of property rights which is valid for Christian thinking is also an argument for the widest possible distribution of these rights.

(3) It should further be affirmed that individual property rights must never be maintained or exercised without regard to their social consequences or without regard to the contribution which the community makes in the production of all wealth.

(4) It is very important to make clear distinction between various forms of property. The property which consists in personal possessions for use, such as the home, has behind it a clearer moral justification than property in the means of production and in land which gives the owners power over other persons. All property which represents social power stands in special need of moral scrutiny, since power to determine the lives of others is the crucial point in any scheme of justice. The question must always be asked whether this is the kind of power which can be brought under adequate social control or whether it is of the type which by its very nature escapes and evades social control. Industrial property in particular encourages the concentration of power; for it gives the owner control over both the place and the instruments of labour and thus leaves

the worker powerless, so far as property relations are concerned, allowing him only the organized strength of his union and his political franchise to set against the power of ownership. Property in land on a large scale may represent a similar power over those who are forced to rent it for a livelihood. There are consequently forms of feudal landownership in Europe, in some states of America, and in the Orient, which are frequent sources of social injustice. On the other hand, property in land which does not extend beyond the capacity of one family to cultivate—the small freehold which determines a large part of the agriculture of the Western world—belongs to a unique category. The small freeholder may find it increasingly difficult to compete against mechanized large-scale production and to make a living without being overdriven. But there is a special justification for this type of property, since it gives freedom to perform a social function without the interference of capricious power and without the exercise of power over others. Furthermore there is a more organic relation between owner and property in agricultural land than in any type of industrial ownership. Small-scale property in industry and in retail trade possesses some of these same characteristics in a lesser degree. Yet there is always the danger that small-scale productive property, whether in land, industry, or trade, may tempt the owner, in his competition with more powerful productive units, to exploit his own family and the other workers employed, especially since in any given case the latter may be too few to organize effectively.

(B) *The message of Christianity should throw a searchlight on the actual facts of the existing situation and in particular reveal the human consequences of present forms of economic behaviour.* It is this which saves statements of principles from being platitudes. The kind of critical analysis which is set forth in Section III must be a part of the message of the Church. Here it is important not to impute motives or to denounce individuals (except where special circumstances call for such denunciation), but to present facts in such a way that they speak for themselves to the individual conscience. What in isolation seems to be purely destructive criticism is a necessary part of the total process by which constructive change is brought about.

The most obvious human consequences of existing economic behaviour are quite as much, if not more, within the province of the Church as they are within the province of the expert in the social sciences. The clergyman in the course of pastoral work has opportunities, if he is capable of using them, of knowing what the present economic situation does to the character, the *morale,* the true welfare of men, women, and children, and to family life. The expert may have to supply statistics, but the meaning of the statistics can be known only to those who see the particular results of an economic situation in the lives of persons. As it has been said, "Love implies the ability to read statistics with compassion." Christian insight ought to enable men and women to see more deeply into the effects of an economic situation. Where there are secular agencies which have the

facts, the task of the Church is to aid in making those facts available to its members and especially to those who have a teaching function within the Church. But there are occasions on which some agency of the Church may have the task of securing the facts. This can be most helpful in controversial situations in which the Church has a position of relative independence of the parties to the controversy.

It is not enough to catalogue particular cases of poverty and exploitation or to call attention to specific cases of selfish and irresponsible conduct on the part of those in power. It is the business of the Church to point out where the economic institutions of our time are in themselves infected with evil. They place narrow limits on the choices of the best men who work within them. The individual employer, for example, is often greatly handicapped in paying a living wage if he must compete with less scrupulous employers. There are multitudes of high-minded Christians who, as employers, business men, and trade unionists, do a great deal to develop happy relationships between employers and employees and to preserve the highest standards of personal integrity within their spheres of influence. Many of the most praiseworthy human motives—constructive service to mankind, the creation of cultural and material values, the desire to achieve conditions essential to the development of human personality — inspire their conduct. No criticisms of the present consequences of economic behaviour in general should obscure the positive contribution of such men. On the other hand, the presence of such conscientious Christians in places of responsibility should not create the expectation that, without changes in institutions and legal relationships, they will be able to overcome the evils set forth in Part III.

(C) *This searchlight of the Christian message can also make clear the obstacles to economic justice in the human heart, and especially those that are present in the hearts of people within the Church.* It is not enough that individual Christians should become good in their intentions or become changed in their conscious motives. What is needed is the kind of self-knowledge which will help Christians to understand how far their attitudes are moulded by the position which they hold in the economic order. Self-knowledge is no less important than knowledge of external conditions, and more important than the knowledge of the sins of others.

Christians must come to understand how far they really do seek, in spite of all pretensions to the contrary, a world in which they and their group are on top, how far their opinions on economic issues are controlled by the interests of the group or class to which they belong, how far they are deceived by false slogans and rationalizations, how far they are callous to "evil at a distance" or evil experienced by another national or class group than their own—evil to which they may consent, for which they may vote, or by which they may profit. Here again, the important activity is not denunciation but the helping of people to have that self-knowledge which comes from the perspective of the Christian emphasis upon sin, so that they will condemn themselves.

The various parts of the Church must at this point be guided in the relative emphasis they place on different forms of self-deception by the character of their constituencies. Those parts of the Church which contain chiefly the comfortable middle classes should create an atmosphere in which it is most likely that the peculiarly middle-class illusions will be punctured. There is, for example, in these classes a tendency to take the present property system for granted and to regard as unjust changes which alter the present distribution of property or the present rights of owners. The kind of Christian teaching about property which is outlined above is at this stage of special importance for these classes.

These classes must also come to see how one-sided those conceptions of Christianity are which assume that, because Christianity is a spiritual religion, economic conditions do not greatly matter, or that it is enough to leave it to the grace of God to save souls in all varieties of external circumstances. Justice may at this stage be embodied in the distribution of bread, but for that reason the quest for justice is not less spiritual. Moreover, it is unseemly for people to be complacent in the face of existing obstacles to the personal development of others, obstacles which they have not themselves experienced. To be complacent in this way because of a religious belief concerning the soul or God is to turn religion into an opiate for the conscience.

Also it is important in some countries that Christians in the comfortable middle classes be helped to realize that they are controlled by class interests quite as much as the workers or farmers, and that in some countries, where organizations of workers and farmers are not far advanced, they are themselves even more controlled by class interests than those other groups. The assumption that the interests of the middle classes are identical with the interests of the community is an illusion which unconsciously blinds many of the most sincere Christians and makes them unfair and self-righteous in their attitude towards those classes which at present are the chief sufferers from the economic order.

At the proper time and in the proper place the teaching of the Church should also create an atmosphere in which the illusions of the working classes and other groups can readily be punctured. It is an illusion, for example, to suppose that the interests of the industrial workers are identical with those of the community.

What is important is that each group, in the most effective ways possible, should be brought under the criticism which is implicit in Christian faith. In relationships between classes, we tend at present to see only the mote in our brother's eye. Christians have a special obligation, as they ought to have a special gift for this purpose, to try to interpret separate groups in society to one another. Barriers have to be broken through before they can be broken down. Self-sacrifice and compassion are good, but they are not, for example, what the poor to-day want of the well-to do. Without the understanding mind which is able to think and feel the position of the other man, suspicion and distrust cannot be broken down. This power of

delicate discernment and sensibility is rare in the world, because it is, in truth, a God-given grace, and as such should be the peculiar contribution of the Church to the making of true community.

Self-knowledge is a necessary condition for Christian repentance. The Church should be able to bring about this condition of repentance because it has a conception of human nature at the heart of its Gospel which should make men naturally suspicious of their own motives, and which should thus lead them to put a strong burden of proof on themselves when their decisions coincide with their own economic advantages. In some cases it can also be said that the Church (and this would mean especially the clergy) has some degree of detachment from the immediate pressure of the interests of economic groups and should be able to see the world from the point of view of more than one group. That this is true at present to only a small degree is itself one of the most tragic and sinful factors in the life of the Church.

In the next decade those who are responsible for guiding the life of the Church must seek, by means of these and other forms of teaching, to bring under moral control the attitude of their members in economic relationships—just as they have always sought to bring under moral control the attitude of their members in direct personal relationships. This task will involve far more than preaching. It must become an integral part of the whole life and atmosphere of the Church. The Church as a worshipping community must relate its acts of repentance and dedication to the economic order in which its members live. Emphasis must here be placed upon the importance of teaching children and young people before the crusts formed by class and convention close their minds. The training of the clergy must include preparation for this kind of teaching.

In concluding this part of the report we wish to emphasize that the work of teaching to which we have drawn attention above cannot be performed without the co-operation of the laity. Groups of men and women who are responsible for the conduct of industry and the functioning of the economic order must be helped to discover for themselves how the principles which we have tried to enunciate can be worked out in the spheres of life which are in some measure under their control. This opens up a large field for experiment, and calls for fresh developments in many directions, as well as for new types of ministry.

PART VI. IMMEDIATE CHRISTIAN ACTION

A. Action by the Churches

1. Reform of their own Institutional Life

It is within the power of the Churches to set their own houses in order where this requires to be done. As an economic and social organization a Church, be it local, national or ecumenical, cannot escape in sharing in some measure the features of the secular society in which it is rooted,

but in so far as its members are sensitive to the Spirit of Christ they will be critically aware of that relationship. A Church which is prophetic and apostolic, as the Christian fellowship is meant to be, will live under a divine compulsion to realize the perfection of God, as completely as human imperfection will allow, in every concrete situation of its life—and having done all, its members will know themselves to be "unprofitable servants." A Church, moreover, is not likely to convince men in an economic-minded age that it is a supernatural society if it allows its economic and social organization to remain sub-worldly. In regard to the sources of income, methods of raising money, and administration of property, as well as in the terms on which it employs men and women and their tenure of office, Churches ought to be scrupulous to avoid the evils that Christians deplore in secular society.

Moreover, the economic organization of the Church ought to help and not to hinder the comity in Christ which should be the feature of its common life. There should, therefore, be a reasonable uniformity in the payment of those who hold the same spiritual office, and they ought to be paid according to the real needs of themselves and their families, and sufficiently to allow them to give themselves without too great anxiety concerning daily bread to their spiritual service. It is not tolerable that those who minister to the rich should be comparatively well-off and those who minister to the poor should be poor for that reason alone. It is not right that those who have greater responsibility in the Church or greater gifts of utterance than their brethren should for that reason alone have much larger incomes. It does not express Christian solidarity that churches in poor and depressing districts should be handicapped by an inefficient and unlovely plant, which would not be tolerated in the assemblies of the rich. So long as the institution has those defects in its organization it will corrupt most subtly the vocational sense of its ministry, and prejudice its witness in the world. On the other hand, if its members were more continuously critical of its economic structure, and were quick to reform evils in it, such concrete action would release spiritual power.

2. Development of New Machinery for Research and Action

Hitherto the Churches have only been partially informed and sporadically articulate on the subjects dealt with in this report. Although Churches as such have no special competence in the technical sphere, yet it is in and through the technical sphere that spiritual principles have to find expression. In the words of Baron von Hügel, "The supernatural is known in and through the natural."

Before truthful judgment can be made or principles successfully applied in concrete situations, the relevant facts—material and personal—require to be studied and mastered. To this end the churches ought—where they are not already equipped for the purpose—to have at their service, regionally as well as ecumenically, organs both for study and research, as well as for witness and action in appropriate circumstances. Only so far as

these are first-rate in competence and equipment are they likely to command attention within and without the Churches.

In the past, pronouncements sometimes and preachings often have failed to carry weight because the speakers assumed a technical knowledge which they did not have. We would urge, therefore, that in the forming of Christian opinion there should be more co-operation between clergy and ministers, on the one hand, and those of the laity, on the other, who are engaged in industry commerce, and public administration.

3. Integration of Work and Worship

One of the tasks laid upon the Church, which is not easy to carry out in the existing state of things, is to re-establish in the experience of men and women a unity of work and worship. While their irrelevance one to another at the present time is partly because much work is pagan and unworshipful, it is also due to the fact that the daily business of the modern world, and the problems and issues dealt with in this report, are not sufficiently woven into the Liturgy and worship of the Church. Unless men are required to ask forgiveness, to make petitions and to give thanks for the things with which they are chiefly concerned day by day, public worship will begin to seem secondary. There should be no discontinuity between the Sanctuary and the life and work in office, factory, or home, for the God we worship cares for the whole of men's life, and not only for that part of it which is specifically religious.

B. Action by Christians

1. Action within the existing Economic Order

Whatever their reaction to the existing situation, Christians are under constraint to carry their faith and loyalty into concrete situations, the daily business and the personal relationships of their life. In the integrity and faithfulness which they bring to "the daily round and common task" they may be instruments, in some measure, of the creative work and the justice and mercy of God. Outside the fields of business, industry, and the professions there are, moreover, varied opportunities of Christian service. The increasing amount of law and legislation which controls industrial activity and social life in the modern state depends for its administration and good results upon the actions of associations of employers, trade unions, government officials and social workers, both paid and voluntary. The development of national and local government and of the co-operative movements provide large fields for social action and fellowship which the Christian should be anxious to enter.

2. Group Experiments

Because some things cannot be changed without State action or international adjustment, the effective power of "two or three" men of conviction, who make themselves into a Christian "cell" must not be under-

estimated. In fact, the world over, there are such groups, who in the spirit of him who walked the second mile are proving what can be done to bridge unbridgeable gulfs and to bring back into society those who have felt themselves to be outcasts and unwanted.

3. Changing the Economic Order

Finally, in accordance with the argument developed above (in Part IV), Christians have a particular responsibility to make whatever contribution they can towards the transformation, and if necessary the thorough reconstruction, of the present economic and political system, through their membership of political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, and other groups. In this part of their Christian duty the same characteristics are called for, though in a different form, as those which Christians are called on to show in all their other activities: readiness to make sacrifices, to take effective action, to forgive those that trespass against them, and to love those that seem to be their enemies.

* * *

Christianity sincerely professed brings to those who are striving for a better order of society the serene confidence that to them that love God all things work together for good. This world is God's world. His Spirit is alive to-day as yesterday. Here in His own good time His Kingdom will come. If men will put themselves unreservedly and humbly at the service of God He is able to overrule their stupidity and sin, and to use them to set forward His Purpose for mankind, which is a society better than their deserving as it is beyond their desires.

IV. THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

(This report was submitted substantially in its present form to the Conference on the last day of its meeting. The Conference received the report, referred it back to the section for revision in the light of the discussion, and commended it to the serious and favourable consideration of the Churches. Before being submitted to the Conference the report was approved by the section. One or two members of the section expressed reservations in regard to particular points, but did not oppose the adoption of the report. After the discussion in the plenary session the report was revised by the drafting committee of the section, which made a few minor changes, but none of substance.)

I. INTRODUCTION

Education is the process by which the community seeks to open its life to all the individuals within it and enable them to take their part in it. It attempts to pass on to them its culture, including the standards by which it would have them live. Where that culture is regarded as final, the attempt is made to impose it on younger minds. Where it is viewed as a stage in a development, younger minds are trained to receive it and so criticize it and improve upon it.

This culture is composed of various elements. It runs from rudimentary skill and knowledge up to the interpretations of the universe and of man by which the community lives. It is not the purpose of this report to deal with the problem either of education in general or religious education, but rather of the relation between them. As secular systems to an increasing extent claim to determine the inner life of men it becomes difficult to draw a sharp distinction between the religious and the non-religious elements in education. Here we are principally concerned with the problem of the respective spheres and mutual relations of Church, Community, and State in so far as they may be educating or may claim the right to educate the same persons.

II. CHURCH, COMMUNITY, AND STATE IN EDUCATION

Before we consider these relations we must set forth certain characteristics of Church, Community, and State which affect the problem.

1. The Church

By the Church we mean the Fellowship of Christians organized in the existing Churches.* Her Gospel claims the whole man, spirit, mind, and body, and every human institution for the service of God. Nothing which affects man's individual or social life is a matter of indifference to her.

* In our use of the term "the Church" throughout the report, we do not refer to the whole body of Christ in the mystical sense.

She is concerned that every child and adult shall receive the fullest education consistent with his capacities; but she must make plain that no education is adequate without the living encounter with God and the response of personal faith. It is not her province as an organized institution to assume responsibility for the entire conduct of life and education. She recognizes the functions of the home, the community, and the State in education and lays upon her members their obligation to work within those realms, even where she carries on education through schools of her own.

The Church has in mind God's will for her—a will never fully achieved but to which she must always seek to conform. Her members have to confess with penitence that they have frequently failed to understand and obey that will.

a. The Church a Fellowship of Free Persons under Law to Christ

She is a fellowship of persons freed by the Spirit of Christ. She reveres personality, since man is created in God's image, and God has revealed Himself through men responsive to His Spirit, and His Word became flesh in Jesus Christ.

She should be opposed to an education which teaches men to subordinate themselves to any human force as the final authority—be it the will of the majority, or of a leader, or of an absolute State. That is to violate the sanctity of conscience, which must be kept responsible to God alone. In her teaching, governments exist for men, not men for governments. Every human being has unique worth as a child of God, and should be so educated as to encourage him to make his singular contribution to the commonweal.

She should be equally opposed to any system which stimulates the unconditional self-expression of the individual. She ought to insist upon the obligations of fellowship and to set the areas of obligation about the individual in concentric circles—his home, his neighborhood, his country, his world. She must learn afresh the importance of the organic relationships in which God has placed us in making us members one of another. This is her spiritual basis for social solidarity. On this foundation education in obedience to the law of Christian love creates consciences which cohere and form a stable society. Such education produces that spiritual discipline without which nations disintegrate.

b. The Church a Redemptive Fellowship

The Church is a redemptive and sanctifying fellowship. The Christian presupposition is that all men are sinners and that the culture of any community or nation is a mixture of good and evil elements. The Church's chief concern is to bring every child and adult under the control of a transforming Master, Jesus Christ, and to train him to receive the culture of his community with spiritual discrimination acquired by viewing it in the light of Christ. A product of Christian education is there-

fore both a grateful recipient and a critic of the cultural heritage. He is a patriot, but a discerning patriot. It is this dual attitude, both appreciative and critical, towards the national life and institutions which it is the aim of the Church's education to develop. In some quarters this is regarded as the Church's offense against the community.

c. The Church a Supra-national Fellowship

The Church is a supra-national fellowship. She draws her members from all nations, and believes that they have more in common with one another than they have with non-Christian fellow-citizens, inasmuch as Christ and the Christian heritage are of greater worth than is any national inheritance apart from Him. She inculcates loyalty to God above loyalty to the State, and places fidelity to the Christian fellowship above fidelity to the nation. Where she is true to her nature she cannot allow national interests to be set before those of humanity, nor permit any people to fancy that it can develop its national life without a just regard for every other people. She must educate her people to consider themselves as belonging first to God and to His Church, and secondarily to their nation.

d. The Church a Supra-racial Fellowship

The Church is a supra-racial fellowship. She embraces in her Christian brotherhood men of every blood and colour. While she cannot be blind to the fact that all races are not equally advanced, she teaches their equal worth to Him who is the Father of them all. Nor can she compute the relative value to humanity of the diverse racial characteristics. If she be true to her Gospel, she is compelled to protest against injurious discriminations by those of one race against those of another. When a State in its laws, or a community in its customs, exalts the dominance of the inhabitants of one stock, and accords those of other races an inferior status, there clearly ought to be a conflict in education between Church and State or Church and community.

e. The Church a Supra-class Fellowship

The Church is a supra-class fellowship. In her membership there should be no place for social distinctions. In fact she has often been false to her principles, and has become associated with a class or classes in the community. But she is concerned with men, not as economic men, but as children of God. By that interest in them she is committed to stand for such social justice as makes possible for all the inhabitants of every land a physical and intellectual life worthy of sons and daughters of the Most High, and levels barriers which hinder them from living together in spiritual comradeship. She cannot tolerate social distinctions which breed insolence in some and servility in others. Nor can she commit herself to the interests of any one class. So where a State is dominated, as is often the case, by one or more economic groups, and is attempting in its education to perpetuate an aristocratic or a bourgeois or a proletarian culture, there will be differences between Church and State. The Church, as the

representative of a loving God, must be especially concerned with those groups in the community which are least privileged, and labour to obtain for them a just share in the national heritage. Where the community denies to some children an education which would enable them to develop their full power, or where it permits their exploitation in industry, the Church in God's name must enter the lists as their protector.

f. The Church an Eternal Fellowship

The Church is an eternal fellowship. She views men not only as citizens for a brief span of years in an earthly community and State, but also as those who are called to be citizens of the abiding city of God. This does not mean a lack of interest in their earthly lives. On the contrary, these assume a new meaning as a preliminary education for an immortal destiny. No training which fits only for useful citizenship in some community on earth seems to her to do justice to human beings, who are not creatures of time, but children of God, intended for eternal life with Him in a spiritual commonwealth.

The Church claims to be all these things. But the Church cannot substantiate her claim because she can neither speak nor act as one universal community. This gravely affects her capacity to discharge her own particular function in education; it weakens her appeals to youth, and renders her less able either to arrive at a satisfactory and harmonious agreement with the State, when friendly, or to resist its encroachments, when hostile. Until we have set our own house in order in this matter of unity, we shall not be able fully to meet our responsibility to either the State, the community, or the world. In the progress towards this union each Church should acquaint her own members with the life and work of other communions and with the work of the ecumenical movement.

The educational mission of the Church is interpreted in different senses. (1) To some it is essentially distinct from the general education provided by any secular community. Thus Christian education can never be treated as a special case of general education. The interest of the Church in education as in other spheres must always be seen over against that of nation or State. Her real concern is with regeneration, which can never come about as the result of a process of development but is an act of God. (2) To others regeneration is indeed primary, but there are other considerations which the Church must have in view. Therefore her educational task is twofold: (*a*) she has a share in the education of the whole man, body, mind, and spirit. The God of grace is also the God of nature and of history. Man may know and serve Him in every activity of life. Here the Church can co-operate with the community to a considerable extent; (*b*) the Church is also engaged in education in so far as she uses educational method in imparting the content of Christian truth, developing the spirit and habit of worship, and bringing men to share in the active life of the Christian fellowship. These differences of approach and emphasis affect our conception of the educational mission of the Church and are to be understood even where they are not explicitly stated.

2. The State

The State is concerned with the intelligence of its people, for upon their abilities in agriculture and industry and commerce depends its economic welfare and its national strength. It has an interest in forming the minds of its people, so that they support the national institutions and co-operate with the undertakings of its rulers. Its purpose is to educate a people to be loyal and capable citizens or subjects devoted with soul and mind and strength to their nation. It usually seeks to provide at least the minimum education for all, and to open further opportunities of learning to the talented.

Every State is obliged to maintain national solidarity. In an era of social disintegration it is not surprising that certain States have taken special measures to re-establish and maintain the unity of their people. Their governments seek to control all the agencies which influence human belief and behaviour. They wish to use the school system, the Press, broadcasting, the cinema, and the theatre for the purpose of inculcating their ideals and fashioning the type of citizens they desire.

Others which place more emphasis upon freedom recognize the rights of various agencies to share in the task of education. Such States regard their culture as a stage in a development and do not impose it rigidly upon the minds of their youth. They wish their cultures to be enriched by the contributions of creative citizens, and place fewest restrictions upon the pursuit and discussion of truth. They would have their schools produce a citizenry of the present type but also individuals who transcend that type. They recognize that those who go beyond it are factors in social change, and may be leaders in national progress.

3. The Community

The community in its forms of life largely moulds the personalities of its members. The system of relationships—social, economic, and political—is a more potent educational influence than any formal schooling Christian education is deeply concerned, therefore, with shaping the patterns of community life in a way that will foster Christian insights and conduct.

In some lands the community carries on education through institutions of learning which are officially under neither Church nor State control. These schools and colleges had their counterparts in the mediaeval universities, which originally were confederations of scholars, closely related to the Church, but with a measure of freedom from ecclesiastical authority and from Government supervision. Such institutions to-day provide varieties of education, and make distinctive contributions to the national life. In them truths and values not yet generally accepted, or out of fashion, may be developed and conserved. They can carry on their work uncramped by the standardization which Government authorities usually impose or by the restrictions frequently set by Church authorities. The State lays down

certain requirements as to the extent of the education which they offer before it recognizes them as substitutes for its own governmentally controlled institutions of learning. It may assist them with grants or by exempting their property from taxation. They may be allies of the Church in furnishing religious education, although not under any denominational oversight. The varieties of schools and colleges through which culture is given to the oncoming generation add to the national spiritual wealth. The Church has an interest in such institutions of learning, both because of the enrichment they may bring to the mind of a nation, and because she is enabled to establish schools of her own for the training of her leaders and thus provide a type of education not supplied by the Government institutions.

III. FACTORS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

There are circumstances in the life of our time which complicate the relations of Church, Community, and State in education and occasion conflicts between them. Among these we call attention to the following:

1. Secularization of Modern Life

The outstanding characteristic of our world is the general secularization of life and thought. The pre-suppositions and motives of both private and public conduct have become exclusively this-worldly. In some lands there is an open break with religion in all its forms. Elsewhere we are witnessing the re-emergence of pagan types of religion, which make a mundane good, such as the race or the nation, the supreme object of man's loyalty. And in every country there are subtle influences of community sentiment and of daily practice which deny or ignore the Christian meaning of life.

2. Faith in Man's Power to direct his Destiny

The rapid advance in the sciences and in the development of machinery has brought men to trust in their own abilities. Whole peoples have substituted for their former religion a confidence in man's collective power to create a world after his heart's desire. Psychology in particular has developed methods and techniques for handling spiritual difficulties. Parents and teachers turn increasingly to child-guidance clinics for assistance in dealing with the moral problems of children. A growing number of adults seek the advice of psychotherapists in their perplexities and troubles, and deem this a satisfactory substitute for the direction once sought in the Church's ministry. The teaching profession has learned much from psychology, and not a few teachers are imbued with the confidence that a well-developed secular educational system can fully prepare its pupils for life. Unhappily the Churches have not always been awake or hospitable to the new knowledge, and have thus widened the breach between themselves and the representatives of the sciences.

3. Social Disintegration

A second phenomenon characteristic of our time is social disintegration. Its effects are most clearly seen where the advent of modern civilization disrupts a primitive society. But in many countries industrialization and urbanization have tended to destroy the bonds which formerly linked men in their communal life. In place of membership in a social group with recognized obligations men have become irresponsible individuals, or have developed a new mass-consciousness. This is as true of the Christian Church as it is of society as a whole. Moreover the commonly accepted religious convictions and generally acknowledged ethical ideals which lent support to the growing personality have given place in some lands to a widespread scepticism and relativism, and elsewhere to an uncritical obedience to exclusive group-loyalties.

4. The Weakening of Family Ties

A most serious feature of the tendency to social disintegration is the weakening of the institution of the home. The family has always been regarded as the principal agency in the Christian nurture of the young. The impermanence of marital ties in some lands, the effect of modern industry in taking both parents out of the home in many places, the appalling blight upon family life of unemployment or casual employment under other circumstances, have led to the decay of the influences of the home. Even in nominally Christian homes we cannot now take a religious background for granted. This confronts the Church with a new problem in its own fellowship.

5. The Shift of Interest in Education

A fundamental change in the aims and practice of education is the steady movement of the interest of educators from the knowledge and skill which their pupils acquire to the pupils themselves. Until recent times much public education has confined itself to instruction in certain subjects, and has regarded the training of character as the function of the Church. To-day, however, it is setting out to create a particular kind of person in accordance with its interpretation of the ends of man's existence. This interpretation even at its best does not admit the full claims of Christianity, and the Church, therefore, should be aware of the difference between such an interpretation and her own.

6. New Educational Agencies

New means of public education are now in operation which are profoundly affecting men's minds. Broadcasting and the cinema provide unprecedented opportunities for reaching and influencing masses of the population. The uses to which these new means are put may promote propaganda and distort values at the expense of true education, and may cause friction between the various institutions concerned with education.

7. The Increasing Intervention of the State in Education

There has been an increasing intervention of the State in all departments of life. It was accelerated after the War, when the State alone seemed strong enough to control the events of the economic and social crisis. This intervention spread over all areas of the national life, including education. The result has been tension between the State and other factors in education—the home, the community, and the Church. Certain governments have taken exclusive control of the organizations of youth, in particular those concerned with sport, so important in the eyes of young people. In the social disintegration it has been the State which has marshalled the new education agencies for the fulfilment of its purposes. And it is in the State that man's confidence in himself has come to fullest expression.

IV. CRUCIAL ISSUES FOR CHRISTIANS IN EDUCATION

In the present situation there are four major issues on which Church and State conflict in education.

1. Freedom

One is the issue of freedom. For any education worthy of the name truth is supreme, and there must be freedom both to seek and to teach it. This is very different from political propaganda, which denies that freedom. Christians in every country should endeavour to understand the distinction. In reaction to ideas dominant in recent times, there are powerful movements in education which subordinate the individual to the interests of the community as these are understood by the political authority. The attempt is made to conform him to a sharply defined pattern, and deviations from the desired type are not tolerated. It must be recognized that even under these systems the individual may find both release and discipline in a whole-hearted response to the claims of nation or community or class. But such systems have not solved the problem how both to secure conformity and produce creative types of personality. The Church's quarrel with them is that their patterns are sub-Christian, and sometimes anti-Christian, and their rigidity cramps the growth of children of God. It is her conviction that the proper correction of error is not the use of repression but a disciplined sense of obligation and the unfettered development of the individual's capacities.

It is the Church's aim, as has been shown above, to educate free persons under law to Christ. Freedom in her view, however, is not a natural gift. At this point much educational theory is unrealistic, ignoring the necessity for inward deliverance and unity. The freedom she seeks is both liberty from the tyranny and deceit of evil passions within the heart, and strength of character to preserve liberty of conscience amid external pressure. It is her conviction that personality attains this freedom and completeness only in obedience to God. Such spiritual freedom has been attained by Christians even under most adverse outward circumstances. Nevertheless,

service to God demands the service of one's fellow-men, and the obtaining for them of external conditions favourable to their fullest life.

2. Social Disintegration

In the face of social disintegration, the community is animated by a resolve to restore organic unity in the national life. Because of Christianity's development of a fellowship which overleaps barriers of nation and race and class, and sets Christians in an eternal as well as in the temporal order, the Church is looked on as a hostile force. In the field of education the effort is made to banish everything which conflicts with a common national ethos. This is true not only in Totalitarian States, but also in democracies where educators regard Christian faith with its distinctive fellowship as divisive of the community, and would therefore accord it no place in that education for the social order which they envisage.

It must be asserted that Christianity is opposed to any deification of the community or State. These can never be supreme objects of loyalty or the ultimate social goals. Christianity broke up the Community-State-Church in the ancient world where religion was merely one aspect of the communal life. It introduced a new principle by inculcating a double loyalty—to Caesar and to God. But Christians recognize the values in national life and culture. They acknowledge that the State, like the family, has its claims upon a man. Civic duty involves his loyal obedience to all that the State demands of him, in so far as it does not conflict with his loyalty to God. Moreover, such loyalty to God brings into society a principle of redemption and of growth. To see all things in the light of the absolute claims of God is to bring to bear on them a searching criticism and to subject them to a transforming judgment.

The Church must penitently confess that, while on mission fields there is a sharp differentiation between the ideals in her education and those of the community, in so-called Christian lands the Christian understanding of the way of life is often not distinctive from that generally accepted. The Church herself has too readily compromised and her witness loses its pungency. The contemporary pressure of aggressive non-Christian systems must be viewed as one of God's methods of recalling her to a fresh discovery of the truths and ideals of which she is the trustee.

3. Control of Youth Movements

One of the characteristic features of our time is the response made by youth to the appeal of political leaders who offer them a part in the building of a nation. There has followed in some States a control of youth organizations so exclusive that Church, family, and community have been deprived of their due share in the full development of the new generation. But we must recognize that there is something in the totalitarian claim that captivates contemporary youth. There is a sense of community, definiteness of purpose, and demand upon the whole energies and devotion

of the personality. This is a challenge to the Church to present Jesus Christ to the youth of every land as Lord, and to enlist their devotion for His purpose for mankind through the community of His Church.

4. Modern Knowledge, Method, and Technique

Both State and community in their education are making use of the new knowledge and agencies to which we have already referred. This has brought them into those fields of character and spiritual health which the Church has regarded as peculiarly her own. She must welcome an education which concerns itself with the whole man, and new sciences and techniques which assist in the solution of spiritual difficulties. It is increasingly apparent that she cannot rest satisfied with the education of the intellect alone. She must address herself to the infinitely more difficult task of preventing and removing those emotional biases which in most men dull the voice of conscience, and to the exposure of the rationalizations under which they cloak their selfishness, their love of power, and the cowardice of their hearts.

The Church ought to make clear, not only to the community and the State but also to her own members, that the complexity of modern life has strengthened the tendency to overestimate professional and social success and the means of achieving it. Under pressure of anxiety lest young people should fail to find secure foothold in industrial, commercial, or professional life parents have come to attach overwhelming importance to the acquirement of vocational or academic qualifications for employment. The power of truly sensitive response to the world of nature and art, and to the qualities and claims of other members of the human family, is not developed as it should be, nor is insight into the meaning and purpose of life as a whole. And here also the Church must penitently confess that not only a secularized community and State but even her own members often forget that strength and serenity of soul, the result of faith in God, are more indispensable than economic security or professional success.

The situation makes upon her a double demand. In the first place, she must see to it that those who engage in her work are aware of the aid which modern knowledge can give in the education of both old and young, and can turn that aid to account. They must know what is being done in these fields that they may direct such as need this help to those competent to supply it. Further, the Church must keep her own education abreast of the improvements which these sciences have brought to general educational theory and practice. But not technique alone will suffice for the end of the building up of the whole man into Christ. The Spirit of Christ must be mediated through persons to persons. The Church must proclaim in its purity her own essential Gospel of the healing mercy of Christ; she must proclaim with power that through the appropriation of this mercy men receive salvation of soul and that apart from it there can be no final attainment of mental and spiritual health.

V. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE CHURCH IN EDUCATION

While the Church in some parts of the world finds herself hampered by restraints upon her liberties, almost everywhere she is not making full use of the freedom accorded her. We would attempt to set before ourselves and our brethren in all the Churches the tasks in education to which we should address ourselves. In considering them we discover that an impediment more serious than any restriction from without is the disunion of the Church's own forces. Sometimes where educational leaders in community and State are eager to co-operate with her they are perplexed by the differing proposals of her various communions and embarrassed by the rivalries between them. They hesitate also to involve public institutions in sectarian strife. Unquestionably there is a basic unity among the vast majority of Christians in their spiritual interpretation of the universe and of man, and in their consequent ethic. Yet nothing seems harder than to express it without antagonizing Christians who wish more included in the statement of it or wish a different emphasis in what is said. It is the lack of a common mind on the fundamentals of Christian faith and life which has even pushed some States, where those in authority were themselves Christians, into secularist systems of education. If the Church is to discharge her teaching duty she must bring her communions into a common front on educational issues and unite her forces in fulfiling this urgent task.

1. A Theology relevant to Current Life

Christian faith has always formulated itself to meet current errors and to win the contemporary mind. Confronted with secularism and aggressive non-Christian systems of thought and conduct, the Church finds many of her loyal adherents in the teaching profession, as well as the mass of her members, confused as to the meaning of the Gospel and the principles by which it would have men live in the present world. As we have pointed out, the attempt to reach a common mind on the fundamentals of Christian faith and conduct to be taught has often failed. But the urgency of the crisis in which we find ourselves and the necessity of much greater unity among Christians, if the Church is to co-operate with the State and community in education, impel us in this ecumenical conference to make an attempt to sum up basic assumptions which underlie an education acceptable to Christians.

Christians share the conviction that there is one living and true God, Creator and Lord of earth and heaven, Whose universe is planned and controlled by wisdom and love, and the chief of Whose creatures is man possessed of reason and conscience, and capable of becoming like Him in character and sharing eternal life with Him in an enduring society of the righteous. But Christians know themselves and all men as sinners and members of a race estranged from God in pride and at war within itself through selfishness. Man, both individually and collectively, needs redemption. God, the Creator and Lord, is also the Redeemer, revealed in Christ, Who died and rose again for us. God gives Himself in His

Spirit to re-create individuals and communities who turn to Him in repentance and to guide them to discover for themselves the way of Christ and to grow unto His stature in faith and hope and love.

The divine purpose to redeem, which is eternal in the will of God, was disclosed in the series of historic divine acts by which the purpose was realized in the life of man. The story of the revelation of this purpose and of its fulfilment, together with an inspiring record of the long history of the People of God, first as the Jewish Church, inchoate, provisional, expectant, then divinely established as the Body of Christ, is told in the Bible. To this we continually appeal. It is our charter, the main evidence for our belief that the heavens have been opened and that God is a God Who lives and acts. The Bible has not always been wisely used, but the survival of Christianity will depend, as it has always depended, on its continual use. Because it comes from God, the Bible has a universal quality, and by it man is judged. There is in the Bible the true revelation of the nature of God to men of every age, authenticated alike by the authority of the Church and by the interior witness of the Spirit in the heart of man, there is an interpretation of human history, there is a view of life, which can be obtained from no other quarter. The Bible has that to say about God and about man which the present generation, perhaps more than any other, needs urgently to hear.

This understanding of God and of man needs to be expressed in a living theology which grows out of the devotion of multitudes of Christian people and out of the collaboration of Christian thinkers in all countries and in all communions of the Church. In particular it needs to be embodied in the minds and lives of Christians in the teaching profession, who by their example and by their interpretation of the culture they impart communicate their faith.

In the work of education some would stress the fact that the Gospel must appear irrational to those whose initial assumptions are not Christian. Others would rather emphasize that reason is the gift of God whereby we understand His message and that we should be ready to give a reason to others for the hope that is in us; the Christian Church, they would say, is one of the strongholds of belief in reason in a world that seems to be more and more emotionally controlled. Both views are alike in acknowledging that the Gospel is supra-rational. Both agree that it is part of Christian duty to educate the power of criticism so that people may discriminate between those elements in the thought and movement of our time which are God's gift and those which are incompatible with the Christian understanding of life. Yet there is here a real difference in emphasis, such as was referred to on p. 57.

2. A Philosophy and a Psychology of Education

There is also need to formulate a philosphy of education from the Christian standpoint and to develop a psychology which does not disregard the significance of religious experience, but finds in man's relation-

ship with God the supreme integrating and directing power in human personality. When we ask ourselves so apparently simple a question as why children should go to school and what purpose teachers have in teaching them we raise greater issues than perhaps we realize. The relation of religion to education cannot be made clear if education is a series of uncoordinated studies and activities. We cannot discern the significance and the aim of the whole if we have not considered the relative value and the interdependence of the various parts of the curriculum, to say nothing of all that makes up school life. Again, the very basis of our faith is the self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ, Who for us men and for our salvation was made man. So we lose much if we do not try to understand the characteristics of human nature and its growth towards the complete man.

3. The Educational Task of the Church in her Own Institutions and through her Own Membership

It has already been said that the patterns of community life have a more potent educational influence than any formal schooling. We therefore consider first those members of the Church whose task it is to foster the growth of Christian personality in the various forms and relationships found within the community.

Of these the most fundamental is the home. All mothers and fathers ought to be made aware that their way of life is more influential during the infancy of their children than any oral teaching. Deep-seated emotional tendencies and moral attitudes are engendered in the earliest years of a child's life by its daily experience of sympathy and love or antagonism and fear in its simplest and most necessary relationships with its father and mother. The first introduction to worship and to the Bible should be given, wherever possible, by the parents. We need to remember that parents cannot accomplish this task satisfactorily without preparation and help. The work of parent education through voluntary organizations is a powerful agency or ally of the Church.

The personal impressions made on the pupils by their contact with the teacher and each other in the school are more indelible and pervasive than the effects of formal instruction. Therefore the Church has a paramount responsibility regarding the supply, training, and continuous encouragement of Christian teachers. Where she has teacher-training colleges under her own control she may influence the whole tone of education not only in Church schools but also in those of the State. Even where this opportunity is not given she may render a service of incalculable importance by helping teachers, through their membership in the Church and through voluntary associations, to maintain their spiritual vigour and purpose as teachers. In two directions particularly the Church can help the teaching profession. The first of these is the understanding and choice of Biblical material, the elucidation of the central doctrines of the Christian faith, and the discussion of special difficulties in dealing with these. The second is an understanding

of the nature of worship, and practice in leading children's worship; for, no matter how successful a teacher may be in imparting the facts of the Christian revelation, the child's religious life cannot develop as it should unless worship is central in it.

It remains true as it has always been that the factor of supreme importance in Sunday-school work is the teacher's own Christian experience and love of children. If the effect of this, however, is not to be lost, and if the decline in attendance in certain countries is to be arrested, teachers must be encouraged and helped to equip themselves as fully as possible both in knowledge of the Bible and of the life and activities of the Church, and in the understanding of how children grow and learn. The Church should be willing to utilize in her Sunday-school organization and methods the best educational knowledge and experience available, and thus encourage the participation in Sunday-school work of trained teachers and of young people who ought to use the advantages of their own higher education in her service.

We have been discussing the preparation of teachers for giving religious instruction; but the teacher's whole outlook will influence the pupil's interpretation of all that he learns. As regards so-called secular subjects we must remember that, especially in secondary schools, colleges, and universities, disciplines such as history and biology handled in a purely secular way, without so much as a glance in the direction of the God of history and of nature, may exert a negative influence more powerful than any number of courses in religion. On the other hand, courses in religious knowledge should be given so that they face the realities of personal and community life. One great cause of secularization is the fact that religious teaching has been given in a way that seems to indicate that there is a necessary clash between scientific knowledge and the Biblical view of God, man, and nature. Without trying in the least to give "scientific" proof for what can be known only by revelation, the teaching of religion should avoid at all costs bringing young people into a false dilemma. They should never feel that they have to choose between what they take to be the voice of the Church and the call of truth.

Without a lay leadership which combines intellectual ability with vital Christian experience the Church cannot effectively present her message either in the schools and the universities or within her own fellowship. At present the development of such leadership is seriously curtailed by the secularization of many colleges and universities which were founded on a Christian basis. This situation has many causes, such as the frequent exclusion of religious knowledge from the curriculum, inadequate concern for Christian personality in the selection of members of staff, and pressure of academic and extra-curricular activities which leave little room for corporate worship. The years spent at school or college where there is a chapel may lead to an attachment to the worship and fellowship then experienced and to an estrangement from the worship and fellowship of a congregation. This separation may even lead to a complete detachment from organized religion. These difficulties can be overcome only through the presentation

of the Christian Gospel in terms of thought and action related to the experience of young people, and through a determined and discerning effort to enlist them, when they leave school and college, in great enterprises of a social and missionary character. Voluntary Christian Associations in the colleges and universities provide an ecumenical fellowship, and can be used to link up students with the local Church.

The Church cannot but be concerned with the youth movements which play such a part in the life of the world to-day. Leadership will belong to those who understand youth's capacity for unselfish devotion and obedience, and its desire for a life in comradeship. It is the Church's responsibility to see that those of her young people who excel in leadership and capacity recognize the possibilities of Christian service in these movements. This involves not only a personal faith in and loyalty to Christ but also personal discipline and a constant study of the meaning of the Gospel and its application in the world to-day.

The Church's ministry of teaching is wider than that of school and college. Adult education is not a matter of overtaking deficiencies due to neglect in childhood and youth. It is the continuing process of growth in Christian character and understanding. The members of the Church need much clearer and more systematic teaching of Christian truth and its implications for conduct. Ignorance of what the Christian faith is and of the obligations which it imposes is widespread and alarming, particularly among young people. Still more so is the degree to which her members fail to take seriously in their business and civic and other social relations the Christian loyalty which they acknowledge. The majority of them seem pathetically ignorant of the Christian way, and of the resources for following it to be had in that communion with God which is the life of the Church. Preaching needs to be supplemented by a full and carefully planned programme of Christian education in every parish or congregation. Much help can be obtained by making use of the facilities provided by recognized adult educational organizations, university and others. Groups of persons, moreover, with common responsibilities, in the family, in business, in industry, in trade or profession, should be encouraged to seek together the Christian solution of their problems and the further advances that they can make in discharging their duties. Church leaders must work out means of utilizing the Press, broadcasting, and the cinema both in the Christian education of their own people and of the community at large.

Many of the studies described in the foregoing paragraphs can be pursued only in leisure time. But health of mind and spirit no less than health of body can be secured if there is due enjoyment in that leisure of recreative activities also, such as sports and pastimes, music and the plastic arts, literature and the drama, travel and exploration of the countryside. The Church, as well as the State and the community, may contribute to the provision of facilities for these pursuits. She must do what she can to educate her own people in the meaning and use of leisure. She should also help to spread throughout the community a sense of its

obligations regarding both the adequacy and the standards of the opportunites for the wholesome employment of leisure offered to all its members.

But with the enormous increase in unemployment during recent years leisure time has become one of the most serious educational problems. The immense strides in technology in both industry and agriculture, and the growing disparity between production and consumption, have brought about a condition of unemployment which threatens to become permanent. Even in socially normal times substantial portions of our populations are without work. Furthermore the shortening of the working day is adding to the leisure time of the regularly employed.

The educational implications of these facts are large and serious. The cultural and spiritual wants of men far outrun their material needs. Yet progress in the cultural and spiritual realm lags far behind material progress through discovery and invention. This is one of the main causes of the social disintegration to which reference has been made. The new leisure presents an opportunity for adult education on a large scale which Christians are called upon to promote, and for adult Christian education in which the Church should actively participate.

Since education is a part of the Church's mission, teaching is a function of her ministry in which the ordained minister and the lay teacher are partners. Each brings to the common task the fruits of a distinctive training and experience, and each has much to learn from the other. We have already touched upon the preparation and work of the professional teacher. The first essential for the minister is that he should be a master of those Biblical and theological studies in respect of which the teachers ought to be able to look to him for inspiration and guidance. But he also needs sufficent knowledge of educational theory and practice to enable him to enter into the teacher's work with understanding and appreciation, and thus to make the presentation of his own material relevant to the teacher's use of it. As a preacher the minister himself teaches, and should learn from his theological college how to make preaching educative as well as prophetic. He is likely in most cases to be drawn into the direct work of teaching, whether in Sunday school, young people's societies, or adult groups, within the Church or in Church day-schools: in some countries he will certainly be called upon to give religious instruction in day-schools under the system approved by the State. He should, therefore, be given whatever help with regard to educational method it may be possible to provide as part of his course of ministerial training. He will thereafter be more likely to seize as he should the opportunities afforded by special short courses on the principles and practice of teaching, and to value aright those personal relationships with teachers in his own area which must inevitably be mutually profitable.

Worship introduces a fundamental distinction between the life of the Christian society and that of every secular group. It is the adoration of the Eternal God Who dwells beyond the limitations of our thought and knowledge. At the same time, if the world is to be known as a sphere of

the divine activity we need a more determined effort to use the daily texture of experience within the Church, community, and State to supply the content of Christian acts of praise, thanksgiving, penitence and petition. The training of ministers and teachers in the use of educational method in the conduct of worship has already been mentioned. While corporate worship is itself a training of the mind and spirit, there is room for definite guidance in habits of private prayer and meditation, and for the encouragement of prayer by groups of people who have professional or other interests in common.

4. The Church in relation to Public Education where the Government is responsive to Christian Opinion

The Church is confronted in the world to-day with a variety of policies of the State in regard to religious education. Very generally a widespread system of Church schools has been largely superseded by the provision of public, or State, schools for all classes of the population. The Church moreover has found it difficult, owing to her limited financial resources, to maintain her schools on a level of efficiency comparable with that of the better-equipped and more adequately staffed State schools. The choice here does not lie between struggling to preserve a number of unsatisfactory schools and closing them all. We believe that it is an essential part of the Church's witness that she should at such a time concentrate her efforts upon creating and maintaining a smaller number of schools of differing types, which by their distinctive quality serve as a demonstration of educational standards that are fully Christian. This is shown by the achievements of many denominational schools in countries of religiously mixed populations.

Since the mass of her members always moves slowly towards a new and more sensitive Christian conscience in matters of social obligation, it would seem that the Church must to-day, as in past centuries, encourage and protect minority groups of Christians who protest against contemporary society, are critical of the organized Churches, and desire to experiment in education with what they consider a more Christian way of life. Her history makes plain the debt which subsequent generations owe to rebels and explorers, and, while they will never be the main body of her people, she ought to be at pains to retain them in her spiritual household and to safeguard them in what may seem their eccentric and unconventional ways.

In some lands provision for Christian teaching finds a place in the schools maintained by the State. This plan makes possible, as perhaps no other could, the diffusion of knowledge of the contents of the Bible and of Christian belief throughout the population. It is, however, important not to overestimate the importance of the inclusion of religious teaching in the curriculum of a school. Its effect may even be harmful if the teacher lacks conviction or adequate training. If the majority of the population are in general sympathy with Christian standards and values, Church and State should find no difficulty in working together to assure a religious

education to those who desire it. Obviously, freedom of conscience must be respected and no coercion exerted on those who do not wish religious training for themselves or their children. But the Christian or other religious elements in the population should not be deprived of their right to receive a completely religious education. Freedom of conscience in education has been too negatively conceived. There is both a liberty not to have religious training forced where it is objected to, and a liberty to have it provided where consciences feel it essential for the education of citizens of the State and of the Kingdom of God. If there are incompatible religious groups to be considered, two or more types of religious education may have to be provided.

Here is one of the situations where Christians must seek for the largest possible agreement in what they ask, or the civil authorities will content themselves with supplying a secular education to avoid possible sectarian strife. Since the beginning of the present century a great advance has been made in at least one country where previously suspicions and conflicts arising from disagreement between the Churches as to the content of Christian teaching in State schools had gravely hindered the progress of both general and specifically religious education. A large part of this mischief was due to laying emphasis upon what must not be taught because it would be sectarian. When attention was drawn to the inadequacy of the syllabuses of Biblical instruction that were in use, education authorities invited the co-operation of the Churches and the teachers in drawing up Agreed Syllabuses satisfactory from both the religious and the educational points of view. A resulting emphasis upon what all parties would wish included has greatly enriched the content of the teaching, has created a far more Christian atmosphere of mutual trust, and has led to active co-operation in securing facilities for teachers to equip themselves more fully for their task. Governments and local authorities which do not take the initiative in such a movement may yet respond to it if Churches and teachers make common cause in promoting it. In some cases the syllabus agreed upon in this way for use in State schools is used for certain days in the week in the Church schools, and the special teaching characteristic of the denomination is given on the remaining days.

There is another plan which obtains in some countries where Church and State are legally separate. By this the Churches, with the approval of a majority in the community, have arranged with the educational authority that schools should release at stated hours, for Christian instruction, pupils whose parents desire it and have come to an agreement among themselves as to the courses offered and the conduct of such instruction. This plan has the advantage of leaving the Church at liberty to direct the specifically religious education given.

It may fairly be asked of the State that if it permits religious instruction to be given in its schools it should ensure as far as possible that such instruction shall be treated as seriously as that in other subjects and as of equal importance. Unfortunately this is often not the case. Teachers should

be given as good opportunities of learning how to give religious instruction as they have of acquiring competence in the teaching of subjects commonly called secular, whether they receive their training in colleges specially provided for prospective kindergarten and primary teachers or in the education departments of universities. When they have completed their training, and are at work in the schools, teachers should be encouraged to avail themselves of further help, such as university extra-mural departments or properly qualified voluntary organizations provide, in co-operation with educational authorities, for the study of the Bible and methods of teaching it. As in other subjects, specialist teachers should be appointed, when the size of the school justifies it, and particularly in secondary schools, to give some of the more advanced teaching and to assist and guide other teachers who share in the work of religious instruction. It is of course most desirable that such specialist teachers should be also qualified for the teaching of some subject, or subjects, other than religious knowledge, and should not run the risk of appearing to be interested only in religion as something apart from all other aspects of education and life.

Colleges and universities precluded by the basis on which they are founded from maintaining a divinity faculty or providing courses in the study of religion, as well as from holding services of public worship for their members, may well give full facilities to recognized interdenominational movements, such as the Student Christian Movement and the Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A., for carrying on those forms of religious education and fellowship which so patently meet the needs of students and link the colleges and universities with the Church. Furthermore, while it is obviously essential that distinction in intellectual capacity and achievement should be required of those who teach or direct undergraduate and graduate students, and while in State institutions religious tests are inadmissible, full regard should be paid in making college and university appointments to the moral and spiritual qualities of men and women who will inevitably influence so deeply the future leaders in the life of the community.

In schools supported by public funds, or on Christian foundations, the Church cannot feel it to be good that any pupils who will profit by the education supplied should be excluded on grounds of race or social status.

5. Christian Education in a Non-Christian Environment

The greatest opportunity of the Church in relation to public education lies in those countries where there is no developed system of State schools but where a friendly Government welcomes the pioneering efforts of Christian missions in the provision of schools. Here religion is regarded as essential to the re-integration of a community which has lost the social, economic, and spiritual cohesion which it possessed under primitive tribal conditions. Thus generous grants from public funds may be made to the support of Christian schools. Christian teachers are given exceptional freedom both to express their deepest convictions and to experiment in new methods. The situation has its own dangers. Chief of these is the

danger that, under the pressure of an extending system of schools, and rising standards of efficiency, the distinctive Christian witness in education may be lost. The remedy lies in maintaining the supply of teachers of ability and conviction and in continuous vigilance in the selection of objectives in educational policy.

Even where the State or the community are not Christian there is often a friendly attitude towards Christian work. Where the Church has succeeded in creating a satisfactory system of education in her own name she has every right to claim freedom to continue such work. She will use to the full this opportunity for training Christian leadership. At the same time, as she requires for her own members liberty of conscience in non-Christian communites, so she will respect a like liberty when non-Christians come within her institutions. In such schools the Church must not oppose the claim of the nation to ask from all its members a proper loyalty towards the State. She herself teaches that we have special responsibilities and affections towards the country in which we live. She has an urgent task in her own schools in developing the synthesis of the appreciation of all that is good in the culture of each nation and race with the overruling loyalty to God Who is Father of all the nations. She must beware of a syncretism which loses the distinctive significance of her message, while at the same time welcoming everything in the background of each nation which is close to the mind of Christ.

Already in many countries the State, learning perhaps from the example of the Church, which has pioneered the way, and using its larger powers and resources, is often providing a higher standard of education than is provided in Christian schools. Where this is the case, the Church must regard excellence as in accordance with the mind of God. She must not accept a tinge of added piety as an excuse for inefficiency. She will not lightly relinquish the advantages in the training of Christian leadership in her own schools. She must however see that the education which she offers is abreast of the best. Where she cannot achieve this, she must beware of identifying the name of Christ in the eyes of men with the relatively inefficient. By the concentration of her own resources she may then, in some schools and universities, both maintain a high level of scholarship and pioneer in her special field of Christian thought and worship.

In countries where the State is undertaking the work of general education, and where it can give no official permission for Christian teaching in State universities and schools, the Church may well claim that, on purely academic grounds, no education is complete which arbitrarily excludes one whole field of human experience and history. She will recognize that a State in which Christians are in a minority cannot enforce Christian teaching, but she will point out that the education offered would be inadequate unless those who desired to study the Bible and its Message and its place in human history had some opportunity to do so.

The Church may further exercise her influence through the teachers in State schools. These may be her members, or may be won into her member-

ship. Even if there is no place for formal religious instruction there will be abundant opportunity for Christian work, both through personal influence and in the manner of presentation of non-religious subjects. The Christian teacher will not unfairly force his religious position, but equally he need not hide it. Finally there are the openings for voluntary religious work amongst students, to which we have referred in a previous paragraph.

In many countries the situation is far less favourable. In some the State, while allowing considerable liberty for Christian work, yet requires of all members of the nation acts of homage in various forms, which may involve a turning aside of that worship which can be given to God alone. This claim of the State is accentuated where, for temporary political reasons, the State is anxious to build up an intensive loyalty to itself. Only general principles can here be suggested. The Church will acknowledge that there is a proper patriotism, in subordination to the God of all nations. Sometimes the rising tide of national loyalty may seem to blind men to the claims of other nations. But there is a proper sense of citizenship, and where this is lacking the State has the right to promote a greater loyalty to the nation. The Church will remember that the charge to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's was first said of a non-Christian Power.

The State to-day frequently insists on retaining all education in its own hands. This policy we regard as unfortunate in that it prevents an enriching variety in educational work. Even where such State education is Christian, a dominant confession may sometimes threaten the freedom of religious minorities. Elsewhere the State is using education as an instrument of propaganda, for inculcating views of life which negate the Christian faith. In all cases we should claim for the Church and for all Christian parents the right to instruct their children in what they believe to be the truth. The Church is at one with all true scholarship, in every sphere, in insisting that education may not submit to the bias of propaganda, but must preserve the pure and disinterested pursuit of truth.

In those countries where the present political situation is accentuating difficulties, the Church will do all she can to preserve the favour of the State. In the last resort, however, she must maintain for her members their liberty of conscience and preserve them from idolatry. The early Church learned to render to Caesar his due, yet suffered martyrdom rather than render to Caesar the worship of God. The Christian may and should give a respect to past or present political leaders, but must withhold worship. The point where patriotic reverence becomes idolatry is not easy to define. It is the point where an absolute loyalty is given to an external human authority rather than to the voice of God made known in Christ and in the inward voice of conscience and truth. If and where this point is reached Christian teachers and students must and will still be ready to suffer persecution.

When all other openings are forbidden, the Church must do what she can through parents and through such ministry of Christian teachers in homes as she can provide. It is a grievous circumscription of her work, but it may have to be accepted for the present time of hostility to

religion. Such periods have not in the past been long, and the Church may hearten herself by recalling her history. Where she is allowed to retain her institutions of learning these should be conserved, even if opportunities for Christian influence are restricted. She must think not in decades, but in generations. The situation may change, will surely change some day, and it is folly to sacrifice strategic centres of Christian education. These are times for following a New-Testament precedent—to throw out anchors and wish for the day.

The Church's largest contribution to education, like her supreme ministry to human life, is her Gospel, with its interpretation of existence and its inspiration to live worthily. Where life is without meaning, education becomes futile. Where it is ignobly conceived, education is debased. Where it is viewed in the light of God's purpose in Christ, it assumes divine significance. It is not the methods by which her Gospel is taught which are of first importance. They will differ according to the educational system preferred by various nations and by various communions in the Church. It is all-important that her Gospel should supply the presuppositions of all education, by whatever agency it is given, and create the spiritual atmosphere which pervades every institution of true learning. "In Thy Light shall we see light."

V. THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND THE WORLD OF NATIONS

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

(The report, after receiving the approval of the section, was submitted to the Conference, substantially in its present form. The Conference received the report, referred it back to the section for revision in the light of the discussion, and commended it to the serious and favourable consideration of the Churches. The report was revised by the section and approved by it in its present form.)

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION

At a time when the hearts of men fail them for fear, the Conference calls upon the members of the Churches to remain steadfast in their faith in God and in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all mankind.

The years that have passed since the close of the Great War have witnessed a great change in the public temper in every land. Problems which the War created, left unsolved, or aggravated, have resulted in a state of tension which has now found expression in a resurgent nationalism, in selfish isolation, or in antagonistic national groupings, in rearmament on a colossal scale, and in the universal fear that a war which all nations dread is at hand. At the same time, the economic depression has increased within every nation the conviction that it must rely upon itself for its own security with little regard for considerations of international morality. Where even ten years ago there was in a great part of the world a spirit of optimistic faith in the creation of a true international order there are now bewilderment and dejection. In such a world the duty of the Church is to call all men to repentance, to faith, and to a compassionate concern for the multitudes who suffer. We need not despair: the world belongs to God; to believe in His power and love is not to escape from reality but to stand upon the rock of the only certainty that is offered to men. The Church calls therefore to the world of men, of which it is itself a part, not only to rise to a new level of effort and self-devotion, but to believe in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who has overcome the world.

II. THE ECUMENICAL CHURCH

A special ground of faith and courage amid the perplexities of our age is that the Christian Church is becoming truly ecumenical. The missionary movement of the past century carried forward the sense of world mission inherent in the Biblical records, making the bounds of the Christian community co-extensive with the habitable globe. This movement has been the principal sign that the Church was alive to the God-given vision of the Church Universal. Moreover the Churches are realizing anew that the Church is one. We say this in full recognition of the fact that between many of the Churches which we represent there is a lack of true fellowship,

and that the Church of Rome is not represented in our midst. At the same time, the emergence in different parts of the world of political systems usurping the role of Churches, and demanding the absolute allegiance of men and women, is awakening in Christians in every land a deepened loyalty to Christ and the Church and a fresh sense of their need of solidarity in Christ.

It is important to bear in mind in this connection the fundamental distinction between "ecumenical" and "international." The term "international" necessarily accepts the division of mankind into separate nations as a natural if not a final state of affairs. The term "ecumenical" refers to the expression within history of the given unity of the Church. The one starts from the fact of division and the other from the fact of unity in Christ. The thought and action of the Church are international in so far as the Church must operate in a world in which the historical Christian bodies share with the rest of mankind the division into national and racial groups. They are ecumenical in so far as they attempt to realize the Una Sancta, the fellowship of Christians who acknowledge the one Lord.

This fact of the ecumenical character of the Church carries with it the important consequence that the Church brings to the task of achieving a better international order an insight that is not to be derived from ordinary political sources. To those who are struggling to realize human brotherhood in a world where disruptive nationalism and aggressive imperialism make such brotherhood seem unreal, the Church offers not an ideal but a fact, man united not by his aspiration but by the love of God.

True ecumenicity therefore must be the goal of all our efforts. Churches must not simply be tolerant one towards another but concerned about unity one with the other. Very especially at a time when in parts of the world "some members of the Body suffer," and others are still weak, must the privileged and stronger members remember the words, "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Moreover, lack of unity conflicts seriously with the ultimate and supreme purposes of the Church. These purposes are, and must remain, to proclaim the Gospel of God's love in Jesus Christ to all mankind, to administer the Sacraments, to fulfil the Christian ideal of fellowship, and to guide the souls of her children in the ways of holiness. No other activity in which she may engage can be a substitute for these. For the Church is supremely concerned with persons, and world problems have their roots ultimately in the hearts of persons who "must be born again." She must speak therefore in the name of God to the individual men and women who make up the nations, and announce to them, in language they can understand, the news of the world's Saviour. As the greatest need of the world is new men, and the Church's chief opponents in our time aspire to change the very structure of human nature in those whom they control, the Church of Christ throughout the world should work unceasingly for human renewal and the cure of souls, in His name and through His Strength "Who maketh all things new."

At the same time the Church has a concern with civilization in general. With penitence on the one hand, because of the share of responsibility belonging to many of her members for the present state of the world, with thanksgiving on the other, because she has been herself under God the source of some of the chief treasures that the world possesses, the Church must recognize her concern with the secular order. With her members active in every sphere of life, resident in every land, owing allegiance to every form of State, the Church is concerned with the whole world, and the whole of life within it. The Christian Church, acknowledging Christ's work of redemption, possesses a unique insight into the problems of human relationship. Knowing man and "what is in man" Christians will not be elated with an un-Christian hope; knowing Christ and what is "in Christ" they will not be cast down with an un-Christian despair. There comes a call to the Church to face in the light of Christ all the facts that may be gathered from every quarter, and thereafter, in the spirit and through the grace of Christ, to work for the manifestation of the new divine order which appeared in the Cross and Resurrection of the Son of God.

III. THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Before entering upon the discussion of any of the concrete difficulties which face Christians in regard to the international order it is necessary to recall the dual aspect of the Christian attitude towards this and all kindred problems.

No international order which can be devised by human effort may be equated with the Kingdom of God. Much of the disillusionment about international affairs to be found among Christians is due to the fact that the hopes vested in specific schemes for international betterment were of an almost religious quality, and it was forgotten that to all human institutions clings the taint of sin.

On the other hand, it is erroneous to hold that our hope in the Kingdom of God has no bearing upon the practical choices that men must make within the present order. The attitude of Christians towards specific proposals in the political sphere should be governed by their obedience to the living God and their understanding of His Purpose in Christ.

A true conception of international order requires a recognition of the fact that the State, whether it admits it or not, is not autonomous, but is under the ultimate governance of God. This relates not only to its dealings with its own citizens but to its dealings with other States, and individuals within them. While therefore we recognize fully the need for continuous adjustment of international arrangements, we assert that the demand for constancy and fidelity may be made upon States as well as upon individuals. While the trustee responsibility of States differentiates their duty from that of individuals, it remains true that righteousness exalteth a nation and that nations, like individuals, are under the judgment of God.

IV. INHERENT DIFFICULTIES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER

We must recognize that relations between States have not been brought under the rule of law in the same way as relations between citizens or social groups within the borders of States. The life of the State—or at least of civilized or constitutional States—represents a union between law and force. Thus is ensured the working of two processes, separable in theory but inextricably blended in practice: the observance and enforcement of the law and the constant and steady development of the law to conform to changing social needs.

When we turn to the field of inter-State relations we find a very different condition. Here law and force have never yet been brought into an effective working partnership. The various political units into which the world is divided stand side by side without any organic connection. They are not merely separate States but separate societies, differing in custom and tradition, in outlook and culture, which are among the principal elements that go to the making of law and provide law with so much of its authority. International law, which is the body of rules laid down in treaties, and other documents for the conduct of States, is incomplete, and has not commanded general respect because it originates in a sphere remote from ordinary men and women and has not yet been brought into effective touch with their social consciousness. Relations between States have been and still are conceived and carried on chiefly in terms of power. The traditional criterion of what constitutes a "Great Power" is a standing challenge to Christian people, more especially to those who are citizens of "Great Powers."

Various means have been suggested on the political plane for dealing with this problem. The simplest and most radical is to abolish the system of power-relations by subordinating the concept of independent sovereignty through the establishment of a federal system. Another solution, attempted in the League of Nations, is to create an organization providing for constant and regular co-operation between States, thus promoting common habits and standards which may in time form the basis of a common law.

So far as the present evil is political the heart of it is to be found in the claim of each national State to be judge in its own cause. The abandonment of that claim, and the abrogation of absolute national sovereignty, at least to that extent, is a duty that the Church should urge upon the nations.

But political remedies of this kind are not enough. The evil lies deeper down, in the ingrained habits and attitudes which find expression in the power-relationship. Within the State power has been curbed by constitutional checks and has been made subject to a sense of responsibility. In the international field and often in relationship to colonial dependencies power is still, broadly speaking, irresponsible. It is here that the Christian Church and individual Christians have an opportunity to bring their influence to bear upon international relations. For the power-relationship is not merely uncivilized: it is also utterly un-Christian. "Render unto Caesar"

is not a counsel of acquiescence or of despair. Unless we are prepared to cut our life into two utterly separate halves we must admit that it is our duty to do all that in us lies to bring Caesar—the traditions and practices of government—to the recognition of his duty to God.

All law, international as well as national, must be based on a common ethos—that is, a common foundation of moral convictions. To the creation of such a common foundation in moral conviction the Church as a supranational society with a profound sense of the historical realities, and of the worth of human personality, has a great contribution to make.

V. THE CONDITIONS OF PEACEFUL CHANGE

The fact that no superior political agency exists to impose from time to time a new order in international affairs to conform to changing needs means not that the existing order will remain static but that change can occur in only one of two ways—namely, by voluntary action or by force, or the menace of force.

It therefore particularly devolves upon Christians to devote themselves to securing by voluntary action of their nations such changes in the international order as are from time to time required to avoid injustice and to promote equality of opportunity for individuals throughout the world. Christian influence to this end cannot be made effective without adequate factual knowledge. To meet this initial need Christians should take measures to obtain information on world conditions more adequate and reliable than that now furnished by the secular and nationalistic agencies, which are too prone to ignore or belittle the needs of alien peoples, or to express those needs in terms of sacrifice to be made by nations other than their own.

Once the need of change is apprehended its accomplishment depends upon governmental action. This will require of statesmen and politicians a broader vision than now exists of the true welfare of their nation. The heads of States, under whatever form of government, are ultimately dependent upon the support of their people, who must make it clear that they are prepared to accept temporary sacrifices in order that a greater good may ultimately emerge.

The unequal distribution of natural bounties is one of the causes of war, if control is used to create a monopoly of national advantages. Christian people should move their governments to abstain from such policies and to provide a reasonable equality of economic opportunity.

If, however, primary responsibility rests upon those of the Christian peoples for whom change means sharing with others, some responsibility devolves also upon Christians in less fortunate lands. Many voices in all nations are lifted in these days in favour of a more just international order and the removal of inequalities of opportunity. The achievement of the practical results can only be retarded if through the over-eagerness of some the impression is created that equality of opportunity is sought not as an end in itself but as a means of reversing in their favour inequalities such as now exist.

VI. ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER

a. The League of Nations

Among the many organizations interested in the achievement of international order the most notable is the League of Nations. While it is necessary to recognize that the League has not been able to fulfil the hopes which have been reposed in it, and that decided changes must take place if the League is to be brought into greater harmony with international needs and with its own ideals, it is important that Christian peoples should have a clear conception of its status and character.

The League is not a Government; it cannot take decisions except in so far as the constituent governments concur. Those who criticize the League for what it has done or failed to do are really criticizing the governments of the member states or certain particular governments. The tendency to endow the League with qualities which it does not or cannot possess, and therefore to indulge in excessive expectations, has been responsible for much disillusionment and confusion of mind.

The League is not a Church. Its concern is with the world of day-to-day politics and administration. The fact that through the League states have pledged themselves to a great ideal, that of peace and peaceful co-operation, should not lead Christians to identify their hopes with present-day realities. However, as a standing agency of co-operation between fifty or more independent governments the League represents the most considerable effort yet made in the world's history to enable the governments to consult together, to plan together, and to act together. It is an attempt to establish a system of political interdependence corresponding with the economic interdependence characteristic of modern civilization.

The assertion is frequently made that the League has failed. Admittedly the Covenant has not been fully observed and vindicated by the States who signed it. The facts of the last six years speak for themselves. But the idea on which the League was founded—that of international co-operation—has not been disproved. No alternative conception or method of comparable range has come to light in the intervening period, and the need for an agency of international co-operation is as great as ever, if not greater. Moreover where in the political field obstacles arising out of the system of power-politics have not been maintained to the extreme point, and where, as in the technical work of the League and the International Labour Organization, such obstacles intervene to only a slight extent, much success has been achieved. This only emphasizes the fact that the real issue that confronts us, both at Geneva and elsewhere, is that of power-politics and the attitude of mind which it represents. That is the root problem of all international politics. Until that is solved the world community so often lightly spoken of as a fact must remain an aspiration.

The League therefore is a means to certain ends. In proportion as these ends are desirable so will their attainment make a large demand on those qualities of energy, good faith, and readiness to pay the price which, as we have already stated, are the conditions of effective international action.

b. Permanent Court of International Justice

Important also as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of justiciable disputes is the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The existence of such a tribunal deprives nations of any excuse for having recourse to force for the settlement of such disputes as involve the interpretation and application of admitted international obligations.

c. Treaties

International order not only comes into being through world-wide organizations such as those above mentioned, but also by arbitration treaties, and such other agreements as are not exclusive nor based on antagonism to other nations.

d. The Church as Peace-Maker

Nevertheless, while giving discriminating support to work for peace and justice, both political and social, through the League of Nations and kindred organizations, the Church cannot leave the duty of peace-making to political agencies. The Church is itself called to a ministry of reconciliation in a world riven by fears, suspicions, and grievances. The Church should be able by the leading of the Spirit to discover characteristically Christian ways of intervening as a healing and reconciling influence in a world of conflict.

VII. THE CHURCH AND WAR

We approach this part of our subject with a profound sense of its urgency and of the inadequacy of the best that we can say. We know that multitudes are oppressed by the actual menace of war. While we may seek to influence actions which may avert the immediate danger, our main task is to probe the underlying sources of the evil and point to the ultimate remedy.

Here again our starting-point is the universal fellowship of Christians, the *Una Sancta.* All Christians acknowledge one Lord, whose claim upon them is such as to transcend all other loyalties. Here is the first obligation of the Church, to be in living fact the Church, a society with a unity so deep as to be indestructible by earthly divisions of race or nation or class.

Wars, the occasions of war, and all situations which conceal the fact of conflict under the guise of outward peace, are marks of a world to which the Church is charged to proclaim the Gospel of redemption. War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality, and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified. No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this fact.

In all situations the Christian has to bear in mind both the absolute command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and the obligation to do what most nearly corresponds to that command in the circumstances

confronting him. His action may be but a poor expression of perfect love; the man is caught in a sinful situation, to the evil of which he may have contributed much or little. The best that is possible falls far "short of the glory of God" and is, in that sense, sinful; each man must bear his share of the corporate sin which has rendered impossible any better course; and we all have to confess that "our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." Yet to do what appears as relatively best is an absolute duty before God, and to fail in this is to incur positive guilt.

The search for the will of God is a matter of agonizing perplexity for the Christian whose country is involved in war. We have to recognize two widely divergent views regarding war—along with several that are intermediate. One view hopes for the elimination of war by the power of God working in history through the religious and moral enlightenment of men and the exercise of their free wills; the other view regards man as so bound in the necessities of a sinful world that war will be eliminated only as a consequence of the return of Christ in glory.

In practice this divergence issues in three main positions, which are sincerely and conscientiously held by Christians:

(1) Some believe that war, especially in its modern form, is always sin, being a denial of the nature of God as love, of the redemptive way of the Cross, and of the community of the Holy Spirit; that war is always ultimately destructive in its effects, and ends in futility by corrupting even the noblest purpose for which it is waged; and that the Church will become a creative, regenerative, and reconciling instrument for the healing of the nations only as it renounces war absolutely. They are therefore constrained to refuse to take part in war themselves, to plead among their fellows for a similar repudiation of war in favour of a better way, and to replace military force by methods of active peace-making.

(2) Some would participate only in "just wars." Here there are at least two points of view, depending upon the definition of the "just war":

(*a*) Some consider that Christians should participate only in such wars as are justifiable on the basis of international law. They believe that in a sinful world the State has the duty, under God, to use force when law and order are threatened. Wars against transgressors of international agreements and pacts are comparable with police measures, and Christians are obliged to participate in them. But if the State requires its citizens to participate in wars which cannot be thus justified they believe that Christians should refuse, for the State has no right to force its citizens to take part in sinful actions. Many would add that no war should be regarded as "just" if the Government concerned fails to submit the subject of dispute or *casus belli* to arbitration, conciliation, or judgment of an international authority.

(*b*) Some would regard a "just war" as one waged to vindicate what they believe to be an essential Christian principle: to defend the victims of wanton aggression, or to secure freedom for the oppressed.

They would urge that it was a Christian duty, where all other means had failed, to take up arms. In so doing they would look to the verdict of conscience as their ultimate sanction. While recognizing the general importance of supporting civil or international order, the maintenance of such order in the present imperfect state of society cannot be a final obligation. The Christian, though he must be willing to accept martyrdom for himself, cannot expose others to it by refusing to fight for them.

(3) Some, while also stressing the Christian obligation to work for peace and mutual understanding among the nations, hold nevertheless that no such effort can end war in this world. Moreover, while recognizing that political authority is frequently administered in a selfish and immoral way, they nevertheless believe that the State is the agent divinely appointed to preserve a nation from the detrimental effects of anarchic and criminal tendencies amongst its members, and to maintain its existence against the aggression of its neighbors. It is therefore a Christian's duty to obey the political authority as far as possible, and to refrain from everything that is apt to weaken it. This means that normally a Christian must take up arms for his country. Only when he is absolutely certain that his country is fighting for a wrong cause (e.g. in case of an unjustifiable war of aggression) has the ordinary citizen a right to refuse military service.

Of those who hold this view, some would admit that individuals may be called directly by God to refuse categorically to take part in any war, and so to draw attention to the perverted nature of a world in which wars are possible.

In either case the individual must recognize in principle the significance of the State and be willing to accept punishment by the authorities for violating the national law.

We do not affirm that any one of these positions can be held to represent the only Christian attitude. The Church must insist that the perplexity itself is a sign of the sin in which its members are implicated. It cannot rest in permanent acquiescence in the continuance of these differences, but should do all that is possible to promote the study of the problem by people of different views meeting together to learn from one another as they seek to understand the purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Recognizing that its members are also called to live within the secular State or nation, and that in the event of war a conflict of duties is inevitable, it should help them to discover God's will, should then honour their conscientious decisions, whether they are led to participate in, or to abstain from, war, and maintain with both alike the full fellowship of the Body of Christ. It should call them to repent and to seek together that deliverance from the entangling evil which can be found in Christ alone.

The Church must call its members to confess their share in the common guilt of mankind for the continuance of war and the spirit of war among the nations. Notwithstanding the notable efforts for peace which have been

made within the Church, clergy and laity alike have not done what they ought to have done to remove the causes of war by raising their voices against attitudes and policies making for war, and have not proclaimed with boldness the Word of Truth in time of war. Moreover they have often been guilty of greed, selfishness, distrust, and pride of race and nation, thus contributing to the embittering of relations among the nations. At the same time, the Church must call its members to give "diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." They should earnestly strive to remove in their own lives every attitude and practice deriving from political, social, and racial differences which are the seeds of war, and should seek the fruit of the Spirit—"love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control."

The Church should remind its members that the principle of the unconditional supremacy of the State or nation, advanced either in time of peace or of war, is incompatible with the Church's faith in Jesus Christ as its only Lord, and is therefore unacceptable as the final word of judgment or action. It is the Church's duty to serve the nation in which it is placed, but the greatest service which it can render is to remain steadfast and loyal to its Lord, and to test rigorously all claims of national interest by His Gospel.

The Church, confessing its faith in redemption through Jesus Christ, sees in every man a "brother for whom Christ died." In time of war, as in time of peace, it should pray not only for the nation in which God has placed it, but also for the enemies of that nation. If Christians in warring nations pray according to the pattern of prayer given by their Lord, they will not be "praying against" one another. The Church should witness in word, in sacramental life, and in action to the reality of the kingdom of God which transcends the world of nations. It should proclaim and obey the commandment of the Lord, "Love your enemies."

VIII. THE CHURCH'S WITNESS

The contemporary situation in its pathos and complexity presents an unprecedented challenge to the Church of Christ Universal. In what way shall the Church, in loyalty to her Lord and her essential nature, and with full cognizance of and concern for the world, address herself to the existing conditions inside and outside the Christian community?

It is essential to remember, if anything effective is to be achieved, that Christians should be fully aware of their great responsibility to the world, but anxious at the same time to discharge this responsibility in a distinctively Christian manner. The Church herself is the leaven by which Christ transforms the life of society and nations. There can be no true Christian action which is not rooted in full participation in the worship of the Church and animated by zeal for the expression of true community, in things both spiritual and material.

With these things in view we submit the following considerations which have a practical bearing upon the witness of the Church.

1. Removal of Racial Barriers

The Church dishonours its claim to ecumenical reality if it allows, even under the pressure of situations of great and genuine difficulty, the presence of racial barriers within it. We call attention here both to the acceptance of the colour bar in certain Churches and to the more widely diffused and less acknowledged evil of anti-Semitism, whereby not only have terrible sufferings been imposed upon the Jews by States historically Christian, but membership within the Church denied or made difficult to those of the race to which Our Lord belonged after the flesh.

2. Religious Freedom

An essential element in a better international order is freedom of religion. This is an implication of the faith of the Church. Moreover, the ecumenical character of the Church compels it to view the question of religious freedom as an international problem: all parts of the Church are concerned that religious freedom should be everywhere secured. We are, therefore, deeply concerned with the limitations that are increasingly being imposed in the modern world. We affirm the primary right to religious worship, and the converse right to refuse compliance with any form of worship unacceptable on grounds of conscience. We affirm the right to public witness to religion, and the right to religious teaching, especially in the nurture of the young. In pleading for such rights we do not ask for any privilege to be granted to Christians that is denied to others. While the liberty with which Christ has set us free can neither be given nor destroyed by any government, Christians, because of that inner freedom, are both jealous for its outward expression and solicitous that all men should have freedom in religious life. The rights which Christian discipleship demand are such as are good for all men, and no nation has ever suffered by reason of granting such liberties.

While affirming these principles we deprecate any attempt by Christians to secure under the shelter of the power or prestige of their nations any privileges in other countries in such matters as civil status, the holding of property, or language of education. This does not invalidate the rights of Christians in their own countries to make such claims as they are entitled to make in common with other nationals.

At the same time we call upon the Churches we represent to guard against the sin of themselves conniving at repression of Churches and religious bodies of a faith and order differing from their own. The ideal of ecumenicity demands that the Church in its various branches shall set an example to the world of toleration for all, and specifically for members of minority Christian communions. The occasion to further the cause of international understanding lies immediately to hand, and is within the power of the Churches to use forthwith—namely, "to do good to all men and especially toward them that are of the household of faith."

3. Mutual Church Aid

Ecumenical solidarity implies that the Churches which are strong in resources should be ready to render help to those which are weak or in distress, anywhere throughout the world. But in every instance the required assistance, whether money, counsel, or leadership, should be given without an accompanying claim to the right to dominate. Particularly the younger Churches, which are the fruit of the Church's missionary effort, have special claim upon the concern of the Christian Church.

4. Ecumenical Education

The Church is by nature ecumenical, but few of its members have as yet come to realize the full implication of this fact. In order to give content to this Christian affirmation we must attempt to educate Church members in the understanding of the actual witness, life, and problems of other Churches than their own. Theological faculties and seminaries have a particularly important task in this connection. They should introduce into their program the study of the contemporary theology—dogmatic as well as practical—of all branches of the Christian Church, and enable their students to enter into personal contact with the Church life of other confessions and in other countries. The future of the ecumenical movement depends largely on whether a generation of Christians can be formed who, while rooted in their own traditions, are willing by much patience, scrupulous fairness, and also by critical insight and complete frankness, to labour for a deeper understanding between the Churches.

5. Education for Peace

The Churches should employ the agencies of Christian education, alike in the nurture of children and in the guidance of adult members, to "follow after the things which make for peace." This should include a study of world problems and contemporary movements in the light of Christian truth. It should seek to counteract the influence of current propaganda, with its deliberate distortion of truth and its sinister glorification of war, by fostering a true understanding of peoples of different racial and national backgrounds and by guiding the energy of the members of Churches into effective channels that may influence national policies in the direction of peace. In lands where States, either as a result of conquest, treaty, or through mandates, govern subject-peoples, it is incumbent upon the Christian Churches to bear insistent witness to the spiritual dangers inherent in this relationship and to insist that the welfare of those peoples is a sacred trust to be exercised under the judgment of God. Public administration in such countries should be directed towards preparing the people for a progressive share in the affairs of government.

6. Disarmament

The Churches should constantly warn their members of the grave danger involved in the feverish and uncontrolled race for rearmament, as

both a symptom and a source of irresponsible power-politics, and should insist upon the need and practical possibility of limitation and progressive reduction of armaments by conference and multilateral agreement.

7. Ecumenical Organization

We commend with thankfulness the efforts of those movements which are working for the cause of national understanding through the Churches. We rejoice in the decision taken by the Conference to recommend the creation of a World Council of Churches, and we urge that the study of the problems dealt with in this report should be included in its aims.

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